Daily Report

Latin America

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FBIS-LAT-91-251 *31 December 1991*

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Cuba

Havana Reports Yeltsin Remarks on Aid Cutoff

FL3012135891 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1335 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, the president of Russia, confirmed today in Moscow that his republic will suspend all types of aid to other countries as well as the extending of credit as part of its program of economic reforms and the transition to a market economy.

In a New Year's greeting message broadcast by central television, Yeltsin mentioned the possibility that his country may sell its foreign debt to third countries, a debt estimated at 60 billion rubles. He explained that among the reforms which will take effect on 2 January are several unpopular, but essential, measures such as the privitization of 50 percent of all republic enterprises and businesses.

Castro Speaks at Education Workers Congress

PA2912153491 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 0200 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Speech by President Fidel Castro at the closing session of the Seventh Congress of Education, Science, and Sports Workers at the Palace of Conventions in Havana on 22 December—recorded]

[Text] Guests, dear comrades:

Yesterday I listened with great interest during the afternoon session to the words of the Chilean teacher Obrete. He told us interesting things, in spite of the fact that at that time his turn was limited to a few minutes. I did not attend this morning's session, during which the resolutions were going to be approved, but they have told me that a Dominican also said some very interesting things. Pedro Ross [Leal, secretary general of the Cuban Workers Federation] told me about them, and I asked: Why don't we invite them to explain all this to the people? They did not have time to prepare any speech, because a few minutes before they arrived here we asked them to tell us some of the things they had said during the congress and which are very illuminating about the situation in the world, particularly in Latin America. I told them: I will gladly give you some of my time [laughter] so that you can speak. That is why we have had the privilege of listening to them here.

But I am sure that similar words could have been said by thousands and thousands of the representatives of Latin American teachers, because on more than one occasion we have had the opportunity of holding Latin American pedagogy conferences. You have to hear the things they tell, and what they suffer, seeing the children who are begging in the streets, cleaning windshields, homeless children, children without schools or education, and schools without materials, without desks, without budgets, and constant cuts in the funds the state has for education as a result of the demands of that World Bank that was mentioned here, and as a result of the demands of the IMF, and the U.S. demands, and the demands of the capitalist countries.

They tell them all: Do what I say and not what I do. Because if some Latin American country exceeds its budget, immediately these international financial institutions demand that it clean up, liquidate, any surplus... [corrects himself] any budget deficit. The first thing they ask is that they close schools, hospitals, and sacrifice social plans, throw people into unemployment, hunger, [words indistinct]. Not only education, but public health and sports. Well, we know about sports, because we have just had some competition here, the Pan-American Games. They take away all their funds. The athletes often do not have the money to travel to the events. They have to take up collections, raffle off a car, things like that.

Science is in the same situation. Culture is in the same situation, and it is subject to a tremendous process of foreign cultural influence, especially from the United States. Who knows how much canned ideology is brought in through its movies and mass media, because they are the ones who control the most important mass media in the world. Of course, the Latin American governments are forced to meet all these financial demands, in accordance with the policies they follow. Because the system has no alternative. There is no other solution. The capitalist system even forces them to follow this kind of heartless, unjust policy. A minority of 10 or 15 percent live the way people live over there in France or Belgium, and the rest of the populace lives in really terrible conditions.

Nevertheless, the country that has the largest budget deficits in the world is the United States. It is expected that this year it may reach $300 billion. Comrade Cabrales [not further identified] mentioned the debt here and said that it was $322 billion, and we all realized right away that it was... [corrects himself] No, he said $422,000, $422,000. [repeats] It is billions of dollars; we must multiply that by 1 million. This figure is almost the U.S. budget deficit. That is the most indebted country in the world. The U.S. debt, including private and public, totals $10 trillion. Not 1 billion. I think here they call it a billion and in the United States they call it a trillion. They call 1,000 million a billion. At least, in the metric system I was taught, a billion was 1 million millions. The U.S. debt is $10 trillion.

They forbid the Latin American countries from having a trade deficit. They say: No, you must have a surplus, to collect money to pay the debt. But the country that has the highest trade deficit in the world is the United States. They demand these policies of the Latin Americans, and it is the exact opposite of what they do. That is why they have had problems. Now they are in a recession, and they turn to coupons, they turn to consumption, they turn to investing in luxury goods, residences, not in technology or factories, not in the right proportion. Their

savings rate is one of the lowest in the world. They do not save. Their profit rate is also very low; there is no comparison with that of other countries.

All this is causing them serious economic difficulties, because 10 years, more than 10 years, have passed with them doing this. Some fine day their capitalist economy, which has to be laughing about those principles they are demanding of others, is going to make them pay for everything they have been doing in recent years. It is already starting to make them pay. But we, in our contacts with the Latin Americans, have seen what they suffer. Not only the teachers but also the doctors and almost all the social sectors could give exactly the same speech, more or less, as the one that was given here today.

To all this is added the [words indistinct] what they are doing over there in Miami and New York. Of course, his attention was caught by seeing that the technological schools here, the preuniversity schools for exact sciences, everyone, has caballerias and hectares and land for self-sufficiency, to produce their food. He said that there they are going around dividing up the caballerias of land, and that there they are dividing up the sugar mills. I would like to see them get a screw or whatever from a sugar mill. [applause] [Words indistinct] everyone is armed to the teeth, defending the sugar mills. If the Yankee troops come to take them over, they will have to fight very hard to take over the sugar mills and the caballerias of land. Because what they will find is a large number, millions of men and women, defending those caballerias of land. [applause]

There are millions of workers, farmers, and students defending the caballerias of land. I would like to see them take the land away from the polytechnical schools [laughter] because, well, they may lack other things, but they do not lack guns there. The inventories of guns and weapons are considerable. They cannot defeat us with those smart things. They will have to manufacture millions of smart bombs, so smart they will follow one by one each man and woman here who has a gun or a grenade or a mine. There is no smart thing that will defeat us. The smart thing would be to forget about that. [laughter]

Besides, they would have to... [rephrases] there would be enormous irrigation, which has not been mentioned. It would be irrigation by our blood and theirs, which is really not at all necessary for our agriculture. [laughter] It would be too contaminated and full of AIDS. [laughter] It could be [chuckles] that they would transmit AIDS even to the tomatoes. [laughter, applause] We do not need Yankee blood on our fields. It is better for us to work with the azotobacter and the rhizobium and the (?microrhizas) and all those microorganisms our scientists are developing to ensure soil fertility. We will fertilize our soil by other means.

Comrade Cabrales talked about what they were saying about the sugar mills. What would they say about the schools? Have they been dividing them up too. What would they say about the rural schools and the polytechnical schools and all the institutions we have created? What would they say about the schools for exact sciences? What would they say about our urban preuniversity schools and the secondary schools? What would they say about our innumerable schools for professors and teachers, our pedagogical schools, about our building them? Even though we have not been able to complete them all, unfortunately, we have built quite a few. What would they say about the sports schools, the schools for physical education teachers, and the schools for teachers, all the institutions created by the revolution? All the primary schools we have built? The two semi-boarding schools we have built?

What would they say about the childcare centers? I imagine they must be thinking that those would be very good places to put in a store or something like that. Some of those schools would be excellent for being turned into brothels and setting up gambling casinos and selling drugs there. What would they say about our 300,000 professors and teachers? What would they say? What would they say about our budget of 1.8 billion pesos? All those crazy things and all that folly and all that villainy—what would they do with everything the revolution has created?

Do they imagine perhaps that the country could live again with an education budget of 25 million or 50 million pesos, and in addition they could steal it? What would they do with all the talent the revolution has created? What would they do with our scientific research centers? They must have it in their minds, making calculations, but the incredible thing is that they are not counting us in. Or they think people here are going to support them. That is the Bay of Pigs story again, thinking that they will be met with applause and drums. There may be a few idiots around, of course. There are always idiots, and there are always a few turncoats, weak people, but that they should think that this nation is capable of welcoming the masters, the enslavers, the exploiters with celebrations!

Those who believe that are really crazy. I do not think the only crazy ones are those Cabrales saw in the streets of the Bronx. I think the ones at the Sancti Spiritus cooperative are also crazy. [laughter] To take over a sugar mill, which Ross told me must be the Uruguay, a tremendous sugar mill, as if there were no people here with the awareness our people have. We were very pleased by what the comrades, both Obrete and Cabrales, said about their conviction that we will know how to defend our revolution, their hope that we will be able to defend it, their certainty that we will know how to do so.

At any time, now and later, Cabrales, not only while we leaders of today are here; the leaders of the future will know how to also. Because this is a lengthy struggle. This struggle will last longer than one man's life. It is lengthy.

The empire is powerful, very powerful, and more arrogant than ever, more domineering than ever now. There will not only be people here. There will be leaders, with all these qualities and all these convictions. Because individuals are not really the important thing. The important thing is really ideas.

Just as in war it is very important to have weapons... [changes thought] and of course if in the Sierra Maestra we had had the weapons that a battalion of the Territorial Troops Militia has today, [chuckles] a militia battalion, not even a battalion of our regular troops... [changes thought] That war did not last long. It lasted 25 months, and we started almost from zero, because they scattered our expedition and we lost a lot of our weapons. But just as weapons are essential in war, in revolution—in defending the nation, the revolution, and socialism—ideas are much more important than weapons. Ideas are more important.

Everything you have seen here and that we have heard with so much pleasure from your lips, when you talked admiringly about the congress and the people's conduct, is the result of ideas, ideas, [repeats] deep feelings, a political culture, a clear awareness of what our people are today, what they were yesterday and what they are today, and what they will never be willing to go back to being, and the hopes they have of the future, of continuing with everything we have done. This may seem like a lot, but to us it is little. It was to some purpose that Marti said that trenches of ideas are worth more than trenches of stones. We have both kinds of trenches, those of ideas and those of stones. [applause]

Here he [not further identified] said very frankly what we have said other times. There was never a real revolution in the East European countries. We have to exclude the USSR from that. In the USSR there was a revolution. That is the truth. It is very sad to see how after such gigantic achievements they have let it collapse, or crumble [desmerengar]. I think they lacked trenches of ideas, and not because Marxism-Leninism is not very rich in ideas. It is the doctrine that is richest in ideas, of justice, freedom, equality, freedom, [repeats] fraternity among men. What the founders of Marxism wanted was precisely that men would stop being wolves of men, would stop being beasts and become men. Capitalism produces beasts; socialism produces men.

But, well, it is not even the first time in history that certain revolutionary processes have been defeated, and even that restorations have occurred. The revolution before the Bolshevik Revolution was the French Revolution in 1789. Was it '89, 1789? Yes, 1789. I had a little doubt, for a second. It was a long time ago, professor. [laughter] That was the most tremendous revolution. Well, Marx drew many of his conclusions and many of his theories from that, from the French Revolution and the civil wars in France itself, and the Paris Commune. He drew many lessons and many deductions and conclusions that had great scientific value, great political value, great historical value.

The French Revolution, which had enormous power, also suffered deformations, and those ideas of the French Revolution suffered very serious setbacks, and the restoration began. The world lived through decades of restoration. That was the revolution of bourgeois, liberal ideas, those bourgeois, liberal ideas, those stale bourgeois ideas to which they now want to raise the [word indistinct] and consecrate it as the definitive ideology of humanity. That revolution expressed the ideology of capitalism as an advanced social system, in those times, in comparison with feudalism and absolute monarchy. That tremendous revolutionary current was defeated and crushed. At a certain time, the Holy Alliance and the restoration came, and they lasted for many years.

More than 200 years later, they are trying to present it with neoliberalism—as someone who spoke before me has mentioned here—or neoliberal policies, as the model for the world, and especially for the Third World. What can the Third World find in those ideas? What more can the Third World find, since it has already had to suffer colonialism for centuries as a result of capitalism? Colonialism developed in Africa. Up to that time the tribes there were free, and they lived better than they live now.

The tribes of Indians here in this hemisphere were also free. Here they were discovered, conquered, enslaved, and almost exterminated. In the United States they were exterminated. The Saxons exterminated the Indians in the United States. But in Latin America, the Spanish really mixed with them. It did not occur... [rephrases] It occurred; the Indians working as slaves died by the tens of millions. Then they turned to catching Africans to make them slaves.

All this is associated with the history of socialism... [corrects himself] capitalism. That is why Marx said that it had been born with blood pouring from all its pores. Then it left us underdevelopment. Then it left us the current system of world exploitation. It is a system of world exploitation in which a large part of the world works to produce raw materials and cheap goods to inflate the wealth and abundance of the developed capitalist countries, with unjust social systems, right? Of course; and with enormous inequality, because in that [words indistinct] there is the beggar, thrown out on the street and sleeping in the street, and a multimillionaire passes by him. One person may have a billion dollars.

There is terrible inequality, even in the most developed capitalist countries. They have problems of unemployment. They cannot solve them, because they need a labor army in reserve for the system to work. Now they have created an economic system for the world in which the developed capitalist countries have hegemony and command, and they make it impossible for the Third World to develop. Because on the contrary, they try to plunder it more and more, take out more of its raw materials, more of its natural resources, sell its things at higher and higher prices, buy its products at lower and lower prices.

Now they want those that were socialist states to begin to do the same with the Third World, with the market economy.

Because the socialist bloc was an ally of the Third World up until now. It helped in the people's fight for liberation. It helped in the independence of all the Africa colonies. With their heroism, the Soviet people contributed to this in an extraordinary way. They were somewhat of a shield against the imperialist aggressions. They supplied funds and weapons for defense against the imperialist aggressions. Well, we know about the Vietnam war, for example, and the importance of the weaponry from the socialist bloc and the USSR, the importance it had for Cuba, the importance it had for so many countries. They were our allies.

Now imperialism is trying to get those countries to develop under the capitalist system and to participate as well in the plundering of the Third World. That is what they are offering the peoples of Latin America with these neoliberal theories and doctrines. They are offering them more underdevelopment, more poverty, and more problems. They do not have any solutions for that. The social problems will get worse and worse. The population in Latin America and the Caribbean will double in the next 30 years, and there will be almost 800 million inhabitants.

Socialism in a country like China, with 100 million hectares, has succeeded in feeding 1.14 billion people. It feeds them, clothes them, and provides them with shoes. Not with machines, of course; 80 percent of the population are peasants, and they sow plants one by one. They have a higher productivity per hectare, and minimal productivity per person, of course. Planting rice with a plane or a machine is not the same thing as planting it by hand. They have to do it like that in order to get two harvests from the same hectare. They have to sow the plants when they are almost one month old, keep them a minimum of time in the field, and then plant more one-month-old plants, in spring, summer, and fall, in order to get two harvests before winter comes.

Socialism in China has achieved the extraordinary miracle of feeding 1.14 billion inhabitants with 100 million hectares. That was a country that suffered terrible famines. That is a country that is progressing. They are very hard-working, industrious, united people. In Latin America, with much more land... [changes thought] The land in Latin America could really feed, if it had the same level of production as the hectares in China... [rephrases] With the land in Latin America you could feed 4 or 5 billion inhabitants, with the same level of utilization and production as in China.

Today, with 400 million, almost half the population is undernourished, undernourished, [repeats] with 400 million inhabitants. If they are really going to put an end to poverty in Latin America with this neoliberalism, imagining that is [words indistinct]. Those are ideas that are two or three or more centuries out of date, because when the capitalist world that colonized a large part of the earth and exploited it began its process of development and industrialization, there was no competition. There was no developed world to crush it. When they began to develop—a few of them, England in the first place, and Germany, France, and the United States—no one overshadowed them. This whole system of worldwide exploitation did not exist, nor all these financial institutions that establish what has to be done.

Of course, now what is happening is the exaltation of capitalism's ideas as a remedy for problems. That revolution occurred in 1789. That is why, really, history has shown us that these processes can take place. I do not think we will see a total restoration of capitalism. I do not know. The problems today's world has are too serious and too critical to have a total restoration of capitalism. The contradictions between the major capitalist groups themselves are great and will become greater. They have very serious problems because of the competition among themselves, between Europe on the one hand, the United States on the other, Southeast Asia on the other, with Japan in the center.

They will begin a fierce struggle and competition. They are already in competition. This will make the situation of the Third World countries more serious, because all these protectionist tariff measures affect the Third World countries. They make the conditions for development even more difficult. Therefore, even the most powerful centers of imperialism cannot deceive themselves. They cannot cherish the hope that everything is going to go smoothly. While there are 4 billion people living in poverty and underdevelopment, the path that lies ahead of the imperialists is not at all easy. They are going to have a truly ungovernable world.

But, well, a process of restoring capitalism is taking place, even where there have been revolutions. Because the process that is taking place today in what used to be the Soviet Union.... [rephrases] A process of restoring capitalism is taking place in the Soviet Union. That is the pure truth. But it has been said very well that there has been a revolution here. Well, it would be unpleasant to have to present ourselves as thinking we are better than others.

I said the other day that we were not seeking a place in history, but rather history was insisting on giving us a place. I said we were not seeking glory, but rather glory was seeking us out. Because no one wanted anything of what is happening to happen, nor could anyone. We would have preferred to continue the way we were going, rectifying our mistakes, having all the time necessary for that, for carrying out our rectification process, and promoting the development of our society and the improvement of our society. No one could have wanted a tragedy like the one that has happened.

But we are a revolutionary people. We have consistently applied revolutionary ideas, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Because how would we have done everything

we have done without socialism and revolutionary ideas? It would not have been possible. Capitalism would not have been able to achieve this, by no means. Our revolution was inspired by Marti's ideas and Marxist-Leninist ideas, in a synthesis of them. It continues to be a synthesis, and it must become more perfect, more complete, fuller. Above all, we must put a lot of emphasis now on our own ideas, Cuban ideas, Marti's ideas, without forgetting Marxism and Leninism for a minute.

It is clear that today we are involved in a battle for survival. Well, we did not do things as others did, because there may even be peoples who live through a revolutionary process and then may make so many mistakes that they bring a revolution down. A revolution is not guaranteed by the mere fact that it is genuine. Rather, under the conditions in which a revolution as advanced as the socialist revolution has to develop in today's world, it really has to act with great wisdom to be able to move forward.

Now, we have been forced to have even greater wisdom, and make a much greater effort, since the moment the European socialist bloc disappeared. Now we are... [rephrases] Before that happened, our revolution was moving forward, defended by ourselves and nobody but ourselves, close to the United States. We cannot forget that in those East European socialist countries, they had Soviet tanks there more than once to save the revolution for them. Perhaps many of those revolutionaries—because I think there were sincere revolutionaries and sincere socialists in all those countries—expected that someone would always come to save the revolution for them.

But we could not count on anything similar. The only tanks that would land here were Yankee tanks. If the revolution became weak, if the revolution committed serious mistakes, if the revolution lost the ideological battle, if the revolution broke with its principles, no one would come to save the Cuban revolution, and we were well aware of that from the beginning.

So perhaps the very fact that we are close to the United States and have had more than 100 years of history in our relations with this giant, which is so expansionist, so greedy, and so aggressive, perhaps this has helped this contradiction, this phenomenon: Knowing that the defense of the revolution depended on us and no one else, that we could not make enormous mistakes here. This may be one of the factors which explains why our revolution is stronger, why our revolution is more authentic, because it was made under more difficult conditions, confronted with a very powerful enemy which has been constantly on the lookout in order to take advantage of any weaknesses, any mistakes, to take advantage and destroy the revolution.

This geographic phenomenon, this historical phenomenon, can help to explain why our revolution has been different. Marxist-Leninist interpretation cannot be taught by anyone, but rather those very same Cuban revolutionaries made their own interpretations of Marxism-Leninism. It is not free from errors, certainly not. Of course, if our revolution has grown even more, in a political sense and in an authentic way, it is because, logically, it was logical and inevitable that the USSR and the socialist bloc would exert an enormous influence on us. We were obligated to be grateful, and we are still obligated to be grateful because they helped us. We cannot be ungrateful. We cannot deny the importance of the solidarity and collaboration from those countries, mainly the USSR. We can never forget it. It was very important. Of course, it had a great influence on us.

I already explained this phenomenon of deification, or however you say it, which we did to the USSR. I am not going to repeat myself about the negative influence of all that; I talked about that a few days ago. To a certain extent, this created expectations, this created the habit of thinking that everything that came from the USSR was perfect and good. Some things were copied. There was some imitation. Even our education sector was not completely free of this. They did what we did. I believe that we did things much better in our education sector. They had some influence on some of the things which we did not do really well. But the idea of work-study programs, to cite an example, was Cuban in its application, 100 percent Cuban.

Marx and Marti, both of them, had already postulated it. Remember what Marti said about the pencil in the morning and the plow in the afternoon, or something like that? The idea of work with studies is very clear in Marti's thinking. It was in Marx's and Engel's thinking but it had not been applied anywhere. Cuba was the first country to apply these work-study principles in a consistent way, and thanks to that, any citizen can do anything. They are not frightened if they are assigned to a minibrigade for construction, or if they are sent to the fields, to the furrows, to the sugar harvest, or to do manual work. As I explained the other day, it was precisely so that we would not become an exclusively intellectual society without manual producers that the principle of work-study was established in a consistent way. We created the schools in the countryside. No one else has this kind of educational system anywhere.

Recently I was speaking with Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania. We built three schools like that there. We Cubans built those schools. We are proud of those schools. It was an idea, and for the Third World countries it is an idea of primarily educational significance, but it also has an economic significance. If a Third World country wants to educate all its youth, the adolescents, the children, it is fitting to apply this principle because it helps to produce food. Have we applied it in a completely consistent way? No. Have we done it perfectly? No. We are aware of the many faults there have been in these work-study programs: weakness, laziness, wasted time in agriculture, bad management. Well, it has not been done in the best way, but it has been done very well.

It is logical that the special period is teaching us, and now everyone is asking for land. Now, the principle of the work-study program is going to be strengthened. Now, it is better understood. Before, we were in a relatively comfortable situation. Ship after ship arrived with cargoes of wheat, corn, and fuel, and everything went very well. No one worried about planting the vacant lot next door. The schools were not greatly worried about the issue of self- sufficiency, despite that the fact that it was discussed. I remember that many years ago, more than 10 years ago, about 15 years ago, we struggled to develop gardens at the secondary schools.

This was here in Havana Province and everywhere, and we lectured a lot that school gardens must be created. Where we found it to be the most difficult to link work with study was in the cities. But we wanted to teach it beginning in elementary school. We talked about the need for all the schools in the countryside, the elementary schools, and all the schools in the country that might have a piece of land to cultivate it to make a garden. We were 500 leagues from the special period, and we struggled. We greatly stressed this question that the elementary school students also should participate in the work-study programs.

Where it was most difficult was in the city, because the city does not have fields, but even in Santiago de Cuba we looked for large areas, relatively large areas, and buses so that the elementary school children there in the region that is in the San Juan area, around there, between the new Versailles neighborhood and El Caney... [rephrases] we looked for areas so that the elementary school children could work. So an effort was made many years ago. Of course, there was fuel then, the children could be taken by bus, but we wanted to apply this principle at the elementary school level. It is very difficult in the city to find tasks for the children, especially in the city of Havana. I remember that in Alamar, when we built the part-time boarding school, we looked for various industries, some industrial products for the students of Alamar.

Cuba has carried out this principle like no other country has. When there were not enough schools in the countryside, we took the schools to the countryside. That is an example not applied by... [changes thought] The development of our mass organizations does not have any precedent in any other socialist country. No other country has organized the masses as they are organized in Cuba, from the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution to the Pioneers, including the women's organizations and the labor unions.

We will never forget the labor unions and their importance, and the role of the labor unions in our society. We did not forget to organize the farmers, organize the women, the neighborhoods—everyone has to be organized—and the university students, and the Federation of Secondary School Students, and the Pioneers. Yes, the Pioneer organization existed in the socialist countries. Well, I would say that this was a good experience that we used. But outside the Pioneers, these mass organizations we have did not exist in the socialist countries, with the entire people organized.

If we turn to the party, no party followed the path we followed of selecting party members from among the exemplary workers, the vanguard workers, the outstanding workers. I remember that when we had to rectify our first mistake in the early years of the revolution, which was the mistake of sectarianism, we established the principle of the assemblies to select the party members. This is a party by selection, and it has been growing, by carrying out procedures, really, and the party has taken on... [rephrases] the party members have always taken on the hardest tasks, the fundamental obligations. Because everything is expected of a party member, to the extreme that people who have merits are asked to join the party and they say: I do not want all that trouble from joining the party, all the meetings and all the headaches from joining the party.

The party has never meant privileges, and we had to fight a lot with the administration, because they took away our people. The education sector also had to fight a lot because its people were being taken away since they had a level... [changes thought] Of course, they were taking away the most prestigious and outstanding workers, who were party members. Every so often the administration came along and wanted to take them away for such-and-such a post or such-and-such an office. We had to go so far as to forbid, at a certain time, party members from being taken away for administrative posts. Since they were the best, they were wanted.

Then the party also grew because of the source created by developing the Union of Young Communists [UJC]. But at a given time, those rigorous methods for selection, the need to be exemplary, and the need for approval by the masses, were neglected. We strengthened this at the congress we just held, but no other party has been organized like ours, with these characteristics. We did the same thing with the UJC. We did not make the UJC a mass organization, but rather a selection of the most outstanding young people. That was a different characteristic of our revolutionary process, which shows not only the authenticity of our revolution, but also the special style of how our revolution has developed. We also had to confront that tremendous danger, which was the closeness to the United States.

In spite of that, we all know, comrades, that we have fallen far short of doing things perfectly. We have fallen far short, but we have done things in a different way, because of this set of factors, some objective and some subjective. So I think that in our country the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have been interpreted in a creative way. We added them to the immense treasure which is Marti's thinking. I think this explains the ideological strength of our revolution and the spirit of our people.

In the field of education—this is the closing session of the seventh congress—we also did, as I said, many new

things. I gave the example before as a general thing, not as a specific thing about education. I gave the example of work-study, talking about general policy things. But in education, we also did things differently, many different things. I can tell you, really, that if there is something we Cubans can feel proud about, it is about what we have done in education. I have said before that we have fallen far short of having done things perfectly, and I have also said that we cannot feel satisfied with what we have done. This did not seem enough to us.

But in the first place, we understood the importance of education, and since the Moncada attack, not since 1 January; this had been set forth since Moncada. At the time of Moncada, I think there were about 10,000 teachers... [changes thought] Well, 10,000 unemployed when the revolution triumphed. But there were only a few thousand teachers working, and everyone knew about the humiliations, the work, the recommendations a teacher needed to get a job, because everything was politics, seeking votes, and electoral pledges. The teachers had to undergo terrible humiliations. They had to find a politician, often, a godfather, to back them so that they could get a job as a teacher.

The budget was miserly. I think ours is 22 or 23 times greater than the budget then. They reached 80 million, but they stole half of it, because of Paragraph K and all those things. I do not know if some of your parents will have told you about that. There was Paragraph K and the sinecures they had in the Ministry of Education. Millions and millions of dollars.... [corrects himself] or pesos came out of the Ministry of Education, but they were changed into dollars, of course. A bunch of millionaires came out of the Ministry of Education. When they said 80 million, that was in theory. What was really invested in education was probably 30 or 40 million.

But the revolution understood the importance of education as something that was very clear, fundamental, prioritized, and health care as well. No one in the world denies the revolution's successes. They say we have had great successes in education and health, but we have had successes in many other things, in many other things. [repeats] We have had success in sports. We have had success in culture in general, in the country. We have had colossal success in science, or we are having it, or we are beginning to have it, and in an infinite number of fields.

Well, we have had social successes, from the point view that we have ensured retirement and pensions to everyone, and protection for each citizen of this country. Here all the pension funds had been embezzled; there was not a cent left. An agricultural laborer who retired after working for 40 years was paid 7 pesos, 7 pesos. [repeats] When the revolution triumphed, they did not have a cent. Social security.... [rephrases] Well, in addition to the many blots the revolution eradicated, which range from prostitution to drugs, problems with begging, and homeless children, the social problems resolved by the revolution form a lengthy list in which (?you can see) we have had successes.

But we have also had successes in humanizing work; the revolution has mechanized almost all productive processes. A man no longer has to carry a 225-lb bag, or a 250-lb bag. That ruins one's back, one's spine, and everything. Now the ships are loaded in bulk. Transportation has been mechanized. Soil preparation and agriculture has been mechanized. Construction has been mechanized. The ports have been mechanized. Rice harvests have been mechanized. Sugar harvests have been mechanized. The very fact that our country has reduced the number of cane cutters from 350,000 to 50,000 is a colossal economic success, because it has raised productivity by an enormous amount.

I will say once again that we have fallen far short of having done things perfectly. But people have been freed from the most terrible, hardest work. Really, what the revolution has done in the field of agriculture must be recognized. It went from 50,000 tons of citrus to 1 million. It has transformed livestock raising. It has created the structures for poultry and egg production, pork production. It has filled the country with dams and mini dams, and canals. It has ensured agriculture. It has used machinery and chemistry.

So the revolution has done not only in the field.... [rephrases] What is universally recognized is education and health. But in all fields the revolution has done great things. There are almost no bohios [typical Cuban huts] left. With one thing and another, today you can go kilometers and kilometers on the roads and you will not find a straw house with a dirt floor. But at least no one denies our successes in education. They are universally recognized: education and health.

Well, really, how could they deny this? But I also think it was a very correct move for the revolution to put as much emphasis as it did on education. This was a great strategic good move by the Cuban Revolution. We did very novel things. The literacy campaign Cuba did had never been done by any country before. Today we are commemorating the 30th anniversary of just that unusual event, which was unprecedented in human history. [applause]

There were more than 1 million adult illiterates in this country, out of a population of 6.5 million inhabitants. More than half the children had no school. But in addition, the number of semi-illiterates was almost all the rest of the people, [chuckles] except for an elite which made up a very small percentage of the Cuban population. Because one may know how to sign one's name and read and all that badly, or have passed second or third grade and still be illiterate, or have passed fourth or fifth grade. Today you cannot find a man who has only passed fifth grade. The Cuban population was illiterate and semi-illiterate when the revolution triumphed. That is what capitalism left here.

The first thing the revolution did was find jobs for the 10,000 teachers who were unemployed. The revolution offered them jobs. Of course, many of them had been

raised in the city and did not want to go to the rural areas. The greatest shortage of teachers was in the rural areas. But many did take the jobs. The fact that it was difficult to find teachers to go to the rural areas led us to make a mistake, which was to establish mountain living conditions to train the teachers. That was a mistake which led us to lose some time in training cadres as teachers. But it upset us a lot, and it concerned us a lot. It seemed to me that the lack of people accustomed to that environment was what was hindering us from finding teachers who were willing to go to the mountainous areas, willing to work there.

But with those levels of illiteracy, the feat done in one year was unprecedented. Starting with that, many other countries have asked about Cuba's experience. Many Third World countries have visited that museum, because they want to do what we did. Nicaragua tried in part and did in part what we did. Many other Third World countries have found inspiration in our experience. Of course, they have not been able to solve the problem, because they have not been able to solve the problem for other reasons. They have not been able to solve the problem.

Now, I remember well that the mercenary Bay of Pigs invasion occurred in the midst of the literacy campaign. The revolution said: The campaign will not be suspended. It will continue. One of the great merits of that year was having continued the literacy campaign in the midst of the Bay of Pigs invasion. [applause] It has also reached its 30th anniversary. That April, not a single literacy worker moved.

Some names have been mentioned here, right? That shows the conditions under which the literacy campaign had to be carried out. We have mentioned the cases of literacy workers who were murdered, like Ascunce, or teachers like Benitez, because the counterrevolution wanted to kill the teachers and stop the revolution's work from reaching the countryside. In the midst of a heavy embargo and heavy counterrevolutionary activity.... [changes thought] There were more than 300 counterrevolutionary organizations, and there were counterrevolutionary bands in all the country's provinces, when there were six provinces. There were even counterrevolutionary bands in Havana, organized by the CIA and imperialism. So the road to bringing education to all places has not been easy.

We established the principle that not a single child should be left without a teacher, even if it had to be under a tree; that there should not be a single illiterate left. Then the follow-up programs to the literacy campaign began. Then adult education began. What the country has done in adult education is enormous. There was a time when there were not enough high school graduates to enter the university. But as a result of the development of education, we created a tremendous bottleneck. There were not enough teachers for the intermediate level, the basic secondary schools. An idea arose, and in my opinion it was truly useful. It was an extraordinary idea, in my opinion. This was the Manuel Ascunce Pedagogical Detachment. [applause]

Look at Robertico [Robaina]. He was a member of that detachment. Today he is a UJC leader and a member of the Politburo of our party. [applause] How time passes! The detachment was well worth it. We have been able to build the schools in the countryside, the secondary schools. We had been building them at a great rate, but we did not have the teachers. That was a new idea, to invite the young people to join the detachment and apply the work/study program, teach there under the guidance of some personnel with greater experience, and study at the teachers training schools at the same time. That was an application of the work/study principle to education itself. Many of the best youth cadres and university cadres, many of the best cadres in the preuniversity schools, were members of the detachment, the Manuel Ascunce Detachment.

The first contingents were not really as large but they were of very high quality. Then this was expanded a little, and then since the possibility multiplied, we could not really make selections of the same high quality as we did with the first contingents. This is unquestionable. The time came when there were many people who preferred a different career, but since they did not have high enough grades, and the detachments needed a lot of new people, they joined the detachments as a last resort. That was not the best thing, but this was an unavoidable situation in a country that offered so many opportunities to young people.

But the detachment was a great creation of the Cuban Revolution. Then there was the development of the centers of higher education, which were brought to the entire country. There was the one university that we had in Havana, with a distorted enrollment structure, with a very small proportion of students working in technical fields. The technological institutes were created. Many universities were created, everywhere.

We can now see that they are a power. I believe that before the revolution there was one in Villa Clara. Nowadays, Villa Clara is a superpower, Santiago de Cuba is a power, so is Camaguey, and Holguin. For example, there was only one medical school before, but now it has expanded and there are more than 20 medical schools in the 14 provinces in the country. Look at that development. Polytechnical schools, technological institutes, graduate schools also exist in many provinces. All careers, all pedagogic careers are available in all provinces. There is an entire system of teacher training and retraining. Because all these institutions which were created, IPE [expansion unknown].... [changes thought] Well, I have really lost count. But there is one really important thing above all: the possibility to continue with advanced studies, for teaching personnel. Dozens and dozens of different types of teachers and pedagogic schools were established. I am not going to dwell on each type. Polytechnical schools received all the necessary

attention. There were only a few polytechnical schools in Cuba, very few. I do not know the exact number nowadays but....
[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] Three hundred and thirty-two polytechnical schools.
[Castro] There are 332 polytechnical schools in the country. How many were there at the triumph of the revolution?
[Unidentified speaker] More or less 50 polytechnical schools.
[Castro] Fifty? You are too generous with capitalism. No, no. I remember that at the time of the Moncada attack there were only 10 or 12 technological schools. There may have been some trade schools before that, but there was no polytechnical education, and the education for skilled workers in our country was insignificant. With the school systems, many things were established. There are vocational schools, which are an effort to provide more opportunities and development to students with skills or talent. Only history will tell in the end if it was correct or not to establish the vocational schools.

But I think it was, especially if we rectify a few things, such as the fact that they were not.... [rephrases] because of a lack of physical resources, implementation of the principle of work/study was halted. This is a very important thing. We have to implement this in a degree as high or higher as schools in the countryside. We have to implement the work/study principle to the highest degree possible at the exact sciences vocational schools. That is why our comrade from Granma was talking about the visit we paid him almost five years ago. I said: Find them some land. We were far from having any inkling of the special period. Find them land so they can work for a few hours. Do not prepare them only as students. We do not want them to end up becoming an elite, and take the wrong turn, deviate, and become ideologically weak.

I asked the [Education] Ministry to find lands for all exact sciences vocational schools and implement the work/study principle at all the exact sciences vocational schools, even if this cannot be done to a high degree because the demand of their classes is too intense, too high, because they have to study a set number of subjects. They have to study computing. I supported that idea. We have to continue to persist; the special period forces us to. It really forces us to find the land and work it a certain amount of hours, the right amount. We do not want more hours than necessary. They are large schools and can be self-sufficient.

But these schools were not established without the principles of work/study. They were vocational schools first of all, and later on they were turned into vocational schools for exact sciences. They were perfected as vocational schools in the concept of a more rigorous preparation, if possible, of the young people who had the ability to attend those schools. This was through rigorous merit, because of their record and the challenge. In the beginning it was not like that, but later on this was established. In the beginning, you could not do that. All those who graduated from high school would enter the university. This happened for many years, because for many years we did not have enough high school graduates.

See how in each stage, solutions were sought. After the secondary schools in the rural areas, we had the preuniversity schools in the rural areas. University scholarships were created since the beginning to give the opportunity to any young person in the country to study at a university. Tens of thousands of scholarships were created. The universities were given all the attention and resources they needed. Remember that in addition to the fact that our universities were very small they were practically without teachers.

The same thing happened in the medical field. In the medical field there were 3,000.... [corrects himself] 6,000 doctors and 3,000 left. They were those who had dreamed... [changes thought] Before, they did not have permission to go to the United States. When the revolution triumphed, they obtained permission to go to the United States. All those who said they wanted to leave Cuba had wanted to leave before but they could not get visas. They made a policy to leave us without merits.... [corrects himself] doctors. A great number of professors from the medical schools left. Compare that situation to the one we have today, with more than 40,000 doctors. I believe we have 43,000 doctors. What an effort we have had to make in the field of education!

Later on we began to teach about computers, first at the universities and then at all other levels, including the secondary school level. We have not yet began at the elementary school level because we are not yet sure whether it is suitable to do so. We are conducting investigations and studies on the subject, but if we reach the conclusion that it is suitable to bring computers to the elementary school level, we will bring them to the elementary school level.

Meanwhile, the Young People's Computer Clubs are helping many children who have a vocation or special ability or capability in computers, in institutions that have gradually been created. Scholarships, boarding schools, and semi-boarding schools were created. So with all these, there are more than 1 million students in this country, more than 1 million, and we are still pushing for more. I want you to know that when the special period began, we had an enormous program for building universities and for finishing the schools we needed for teacher training, for finishing the CUJAE [Jose Antonio Echeverria University City], the ISCA [Higher Institute for Agricultural and Livestock Sciences], and others which had been under construction for many years, and for providing the universities with all the facilities needed. We were doing this as part of the rectification process.

At that time, the special period had not yet arisen. We had a complete program for trade schools. We had already chosen almost all the sites for each of the schools we were going to build. There was a great program for

child care centers underway. Havana built 110 child care centers in only two years. The demand grew immediately, because there were many people who did not request them when they did not have the remotest hope of getting them. The demand was for 19,000, and we created capacity for 24,000. Right away many demands began to arise. People asked for more child care centers. We had a complete program of special schools with the ambitious aim of reaching 80,000 students enrolled. I do not know if the number is entirely correct, but it was the number that was given as a need, and we said: Well, we will make the special schools that are needed. We made quite a few. Havana built about 20.

We must look at the programs that we have developed in the field of education during all these years. I would say that if you look at the list you would see that it is impressive. At a given time we said: Well, the teachers need more training. We cannot be content with the ones we have. Now, as I said at yesterday's plenary session, there have been problems in all sectors. There have been mistakes in all sectors. In education, of course, we have made mistakes. There is no doubt about it. I believe that this is a lesson on how we must be very alert to society's evolution and the evolution of a given field, and the need to adapt the institutions and forms to each new period that arises.

But we must take into consideration that in the beginning, teachers would begin their training after finishing sixth grade. They were just children when they began their teacher training. Of course, if you went to the rural areas and asked any girl—or boy, but it was mostly girls—what she wanted to study, she would say she wanted to be a teacher. Some would say they wanted to be nurses. There were always some. But the number of children who wanted to be teachers was very large, but they began after sixth grade. When we stopped using the mountain training, and in Tarara, we decided to build all the teacher training schools in all the provinces, based on the most correct principle that it was not necessary to have been trained in the mountainous areas in order to go to there. Rather, to go to the mountainous areas, what was needed was an awareness and a vocation as a teacher, even if one studied in the city.

The conditions were created to train all the teachers that were needed. But they started after sixth grade. We would not have been able to fill those schools with high school graduates. With time, we succeeded in raising the level to basic secondary school graduates. Lately we have raised the level to preuniversity school graduates. Now we cannot imagine those teachers of the early days of the revolution, or the days before the revolution. You cannot find a teacher who began to train after sixth grade, to become a teacher after finishing sixth grade. It is a cause of satisfaction to us that now the teachers begin after finishing preuniversity school. They get a university degree in order to teach elementary school.

But this forced us to make an enormous effort in the teacher improvement programs and the study plans, and in creating the bachelor's degree for all those who had been teachers. They were able to study at the university, and they were given all possible facilities—one year or even two, if necessary, of free time, with pay—to study at the university. We have passed the ambitious goal of one day having the vast majority graduate from university, or all those for whom it was possible, of those teachers who began their career after finishing the sixth grade.

This has been a continuous process of striving to improve the quality of the teaching personnel. They have been given all kinds of facilities they have not received anywhere else in the world. When the time came when there was a risk of having a surplus of teachers, we said: We are not going to close the schools. We are going to create a reserve of teachers so that the rest can study.

This is an interpretation of socialism. I would say it is our own way of interpreting socialism, a new way, because I think you cannot talk of socialism if you do not accept the premise of the rational, optimum use of human resources. Why would we fill the offices or factories or work centers with people when, many times, there is not enough work? It is better for them to become teachers, doctors, or engineers, and then if there are too many, they will be there for others to take a year's sabbatical, which will permit us to create a system for further training for professionals.

In socialism, no one is supposed to be surplus, but also no one should be employed in an unproductive or useless way. If there were 100 employees in an office and 20 could do the work, we could have 80 citizens of this country qualified as teachers, doctors, or anything, and this would permit us to provide further training for other workers.

When there is a surplus, you must create a reserve. Socialism cannot exist unless you give work to every citizen. If not, a person who was born under the flag of socialism and has no job becomes a wretch. Socialism cannot exist unless every citizen has opportunities. Socialism cannot exist unless every citizen is given optimum employment, unless every citizen is used in an optimum, rational way. That is why we speak of reserves. Some people may have thought that this was a luxury or a waste. What else could we want? To have citizens stay at home? It costs almost the same, because they always have an uncle, a grandparent, a parent, someone who will help pay their expenses, and they are not producing anything.

A citizen who stays at home is a burden on society. I am talking about under normal conditions. A citizen who inflates a payroll is a useless burden on society. A citizen who studies and prepares so that all society will have an even higher level of knowledge and preparation is not a burden. This is a useful way of using a citizen, and that is why we have created this reserve, which gives a a lot of room to maneuver today, this reserve of teachers we have created for a continuous process of development. Imagine if one day we implement the sabbatical year

program. This means taking a professor or teacher and giving them an entire free year for studying and improving.

So we view education as a continuous process, or that is how education should be under socialism. I believe that we are following the right path in this field. But if we had to begin with people who had finished sixth grade, or secondary school, with all the problems we have had, with all the problems we have.... [rephrases] if we consider the point where we began this effort, it is natural that it should have resulted in certain inevitable problems. I am convinced of this.

So we should not feel ashamed about the problems we have had. What we should do is analyze all our experiences to see how we should improve everything we are doing, and what we should plan to do in the future. We must never rest on our laurels. This sector has also suffered from some problems the rest of the country had with the economic leadership and planning system and all those things. It suffered from that alienation process, in which voluntary work lost all its importance and seemed like a children's game, a pastime. The schools in the countryside were looked down on by some officials who had studied abroad. They had graduated and had returned very well educated, and they thought the business of the schools in the countryside was no good because it was not what was done in other countries. Do you understand?

At a certain time, academics prevailed in higher education. We went from a situation in which all the university students had to work almost every day, even if they were not as good on theory, to a time when the university students did not participate in productive activities and threatened to become an elite. They hoped to get administrative jobs at enterprises and work in offices and things like that. We made mistakes, such as the multiplication of specialties, in both technological and university education.

In making those mistakes, we were copying. That is beyond argument. It was crazy. Once I had to ask as a joke at a Federation of University Students [FEU] meeting, when we were going to create a university specialty on mule transportation, mule transportation engineering. Because there was an incredible proliferation of specialties. We were not able to avoid this in medicine, but it was heading towards creating even more specialties. At least in medicine we prevented that trend from filtering down to the earlier years. I remember that the sixth-year students were already doing some kind of vertical specialty or something like that. We said: Not until we have enough students. And we changed that. We changed that later (?for other reasons.) We started from the principle of a basic doctor, with very strong basic knowledge, and then the specialties.

But in our universities they were already beginning to specialize in the second year, after the second year. Architects: previously there were specialties in architecture. They could be physical planners, they could do buildings, or they could do many things, but it was already being divided up into fragments: physical planning, building, this, that, and the other. They were not architects.

Individuals began to specialize after two years of basic knowledge. Where did we get that garbage? We copied it, to tell the truth. It was the same thing in agronomy. The time came when we had to rectify this. We began the process of implementing other concepts in the basic training of university professionals, and then a system to train specialists. Academics took on a lot of strength. That is, we went from one extreme to another, from a perhaps excessive extreme of practice to an excessive extreme of academics, or academic or theoretical training.

I think what we are doing now is much better, or it is closer to the ideal: true participation by university students in production. I think the teaching factories have been a good creation, an excellent creation. They allow us to give greater weight than we had been giving to productive work, and a proper level of theory is maintained. As for theoretical education, the students need a good foundation to continue to study throughout their lives, because an engineer who stops studying when he graduates as an engineer loses some knowledge of engineering after a few years.

That is true in almost all the technical careers, and also in medical careers. But in the medical careers we have a whole system for training specialists. We have the integrated general doctor as a specialty. Medicine has served as study material to develop many of these ideas. So we have made mistakes of a subjective nature in all our work, but I was explaining that you could not be free of the general trends in society, the contempt for some things--voluntary work, work/study by the students, and all that kind of thing—along with many other subjective factors that could be mentioned.

But in spite of these mistakes, I think we have done more in this country than in any other, especially any other socialist country. They were the ones who did the most. They did quite a bit in education. That cannot be denied. But what we did and how we did it was really novel, really novel and creative. There are other topics having to do with this. I think you have discussed improvement and I do not know what other things. The idea of improvement cannot be renounced, improvement of education.

We have made other mistakes. I have not summarized them all. It is not possible for everyone to study Russian. Well, I did not. I really did not try. [laughter] But, we could say that the study of Russian became widespread. It was necessary to study Russian, and it was necessary to abandon English. That is confusing apples and oranges, as is commonly said. What does that have to do with it? That is confusing ideology with language. I find very

little congenial in the main speakers of that language, who are the Yankees. They often do not even know how to speak it well, a few of them.

We can find little congenial in colonialism, but it is a fact that it [English] has become a universal language, the same as Spanish became the universal language of this continent, which had been inhabited, a large part of it, by thousands of native tribes which had different languages. They left us Spanish, one of the few positive things from that terrible stage of history. They imposed a language on us, but now that we have it we are not going to give it up. We must improve it, and know how to use it, as well.

Studying Russian. You do not find any new literary work in Russian. You have to wait for it to be published in the USSR in 10 or 15 years. Or a scientific work. Above all, the most important thing, a scientific work. Almost all the scientific works, if they are published in Japan, Europe, or elsewhere, they are immediately translated into English. It has become the international language, and we, being idiots, abandoned English. It was necessary to rectify that. I remember that the Soviet ambassador was here. He is a very nice person and a very good friend of ours. He was very sad because I, from a platform like this one today, said that we must study English, that we must rectify that. I asked him when I met up with him the other day on a commission: Well, tell me, what are you doing? What language are you studying, Spanish? He said: No, English.

All the Soviets were studying English. Now, of course, imperialism loves that, but it has nothing to do with anything else. I do not think they will learn how to become capitalists in four days, no matter how much English they might know. Everyone was studying English, not Spanish, while we idiots were studying Russian. [laughter] Do you realize the power of influence? And how negative influences can take a hold?

We could speak further about influences. I mentioned some in the science commission. What have we published, and what have we published in the last 30 years? That is a question we could pose. How many books and titles have we published? Because in a meeting that I attended some time ago with some preuniversitary students, I very strongly proposed the idea that we should publish 200 or 300 classic works that were not being published here, some 200 or 300 works. I am not going to mention the titles here, but they are well-known works, existing works, including many things on ancient history, ancient works, containing the origins of philosophy and the origins of civilization. Many books written in the last 2,000 years are classics and are missing from the public libraries; or if not from the public libraries, at least missing from personal libraries.

We do read a lot, because that day we were discussing how much we study, and how much we read. We were analyzing some factors concerning this issue. I think it was about communication, limitations in communication that children sometimes had, or many children had, and what the causes might be. I asked if this was a universal phenomenon, and they told me it was a universal phenomenon and the mass media and television had a lot to do with all this and the number of hours children throughout the world spend in front of the television. There is a lack of education on the parents' part, a lack of resources, a lack of suitable education methods for children. Because one of the comrades was talking about one of the studies they were doing, and a dictionary they were going to do, with the vocabulary our children need. That is a very good work, very praiseworthy. I asked a number of questions about that.

The modern world reads very little, and spends all its time watching television and videos. Not just Cuba; the world. Another question we could ask is: Do we read a lot? Yes, the books fly off the shelves. But which books? Many are fiction books, only fiction. That day we were talking about the urgent need for a scientific magazine as part of the overall scientific movement we are developing. It is almost as important as an electron microscope, or a mass spectrometer, or something like that. It is a need just like work equipment in the laboratories.

I gave an example. All of us like to read fiction. It gives moments of distraction, relaxation. But if you read only that and nothing else, you do not learn anything. Reading often becomes an escapist, recreational activity. I told them that whenever I read a book, I ask myself if I have learned anything from the book. I gave the example of the literature of a very valued friend of ours, [Gabriel] Garcia Marquez. If you read *Chronicle of a Death Foretold*, you may spend hours entertained, seeing that whole plot and how things happen, but by the end, you have not learned anything. If you read *The General in His Labyrinth*, by the end you have learned a lot about history, Bolivar's thinking, and the ideas of Latin American integration. You have learned human things. The book is recreational and also teaches.

Now that we have so many people doing research, especially in the field of humanities, we could do a study—and I invite you to do a study—of everything the revolution has published, apart from textbooks, and what proportion were recreational books and what proportion were books that enriched the culture of our entire society, in all fields—science, philosophy, sociology, psychology, politics, economics. How many have we published on history? How many biographies? It turns out that we do not even know Cuban history. We do not know enough Cuban history, and we know hardly any Latin American history.

Now, one way of promoting knowledge of Cuban history is by publishing books. I have had the privilege of seeing some of the little books that were printed after that meeting with the FEU people. Very valuable books have appeared. We must be selective and have a publishing policy, because this is not commercial. The socialist state should not publish books to earn money; it should publish books to benefit the people. The people benefit not only through a given kind of literature, but through a

great variety of books and a publishing policy that allows the people to have access to the best works created by human intelligence, historic as well as literary and political.

We read a lot, but we have to ask ourselves what we read. We could also ask ourselves how we have used our television broadcasts. This is something that always comes up at any congress or meeting of teachers. We could ask ourselves a lot of these things. Education cannot escape some of these problems, but we must direct our efforts towards developing a people, a society, with a high level of education.

We must also have a high scientific level. This will allow us to have a quality standard of living, in both recreational and creative aspects. This is why we are not at all discouraged by the difficulties we have had. We must acknowledge them and analyze them. We should feel legitimately proud of the work the revolution has done in education. I think this work is having a great influence right now in the special period. The teachers, even though they are now going to plant yucca, boniato, and bananas along with the students, and weed and pull up grass and all those things, [applause] the teachers, even though they are doing that and asking for caballerias—which they are going to receive, as many as necessary—produce as their fundamental result the development of knowledge and preparing people for life, in all senses. Their main result is education.

I at least have been a witness in the last few weeks to some of the results of our education, because I participated in the Pioneers Congress. Really, I do not think there could have been anything more impressive than that Pioneers Congress. I do not think that anywhere in the world people have the privilege of seeing what we saw here. It does not matter if they ignore us as they ignore us, or slander us as they slander us. But a Pioneers Congress like ours has not occured in any other society anywhere else in the world. Where did all this come from? From our education.

We have seen the Federation of Secondary School Students [FEEM] Congress, and I am sure that a congress of students like that one has not occured anywhere else in the world. The quality that was expressed there at that congress, where the children were not chosen from above, has not been expressed anywhere else. The children were chosen from within the FEEM, just as the Pioneers chose theirs, in an absolutely free, democratic way. They sent their representatives. I was so impressed that I said: Well, it is unlikely that in the future we will have another congress like this one. Because I saw almost a special period congress, of soldiers who are in the midst of battle. It made a tremendous impression.

But a few days ago, a week ago, right here, we had the closing ceremony of the Sixth Spare Parts, Equipment, and Advanced Technologies Forum. What an impressive thing that forum, that sixth forum, was! What an expression of the progress of our education! Because hundreds of thousands of workers were represented there at that forum, skilled workers, all those who had graduated from the technological schools and universities, our education centers. They have an impressive level of knowledge and preparation.

Where did that come from? Did it happen by chance, that we have been able to see three events like those? It has come from the revolution. It has come in large part from the revolution's educational process, because the vast majority of those who were there had gone through primary school under the revolution, and secondary school, preuniversity school, and the university. We can see a whole work, a whole creation. This cannot be seen in any better way than when you see hundreds and hundreds of people gathered together who have been creators or have presented 34,000 papers, with 40,000 solutions to the country's problems. Where else in the world has this happened? They are also in the midst of the battlefield of the special period.

This is a genuine result of the revolution's work in education. This gives us more than enough reason to feel proud, regardless of the awareness we may have of the mistakes we may have made, or the defects we may have.

I have already spoken about science and technology; I think that we have to do some things. I participated in the science commission. I was very interested because of the tremendous weight scientific research has right now, in this situation we are in. I intended to go to a morning session and then do other things in the afternoon, but I became so interested in it that I stayed. I stayed about eight hours in the science commission. I really heard extraordinary things. It is not that I did not know anything, because I receive a lot of information and I am in constant contact with the research centers. I know many of the things they are doing, how they are doing them, and we are supporting and promoting them. But when you meet with a group of scientists and researchers like those who met in that commission, you really learn a lot, even some figures. One did not know very well what some of our scientific institutions were doing. We have a lot, more than 100. Some had changed names five years ago. Some were the result of the merging of one with another, of two institutions.

But there, in the field of science and technology, as well as sociology and pedagogy, really very, very, very interesting things were presented in that commission. Of course, a congress cannot be measured by the plenary sessions. Specific issues are discussed in much more depth in the commissions. There are 200 or 300 requests to have the floor at the plenary session, and many things are repeated, and we have to give a limited time to those who participate. Not everyone can speak. You cannot go into much depth. In the commissions you go into much more depth. My participation in that commission was an experience for me, because many things were discussed in depth.

Now, I had a tremendous surprise. It shows how, no matter how alert one may be, or however well-informed one may think one is ....[rephrases] I thought that all the science workers were members of this union. Suddenly I said: Such-and-such an institution, and that one, and that other one, who is representing them? They said: No, they do not belong to the union. But who the hell do they belong to? [laughter] They said: No, each one belongs to their sector's union. The one for sugar belongs to the Sugar Workers Union, the one for agriculture belongs to the Agricultural Workers Union, the ones for medicine belong to the Public Health Union. I said: What is this? It is fortunate that the comrades who organized this congress had the stroke of genius of inviting other centers as well. They invited people from all the other centers. They realized this. These people did not attend as representatives or delegates, but as guests.

I realized that science workers do not have a union. What contributed to my false idea, or my ignorance? The fact that this union, which is so distinguished, and rightly so, is called the Education, Science, and Sports Workers Union. I said: The science workers must be in the Education, Science, and Sports Workers Union, but they are not. You have only the science workers from the university centers and the Academy of Science centers. There are dozens and dozens and dozens of scientific research centers that do not belong to this union.

What do we do? I understand that the ICIDCA [Cuban Sugarcane Byproducts Research Institute] and other similar centers are very interested in belonging to the Sugar Workers Union. That is good. That they have ties with that sector, the sugar industry, is good. But we have to find a solution to this problem. It is not possible, especially in this special period, to be without a union for science workers. It is not possible, when one sees the work a union does or can do in promoting these activities. I am not proposing that they should stop belonging to another union or this union. I am proposing that they should have double membership.

I am proposing that we create a science workers unions. The Cuban Workers Federation should organize...[changes thought] Yes, I am saying this in the special period, when we are conserving, but it has become a necessity of this period for us to create a science workers union, even though all those who are members of this union would continue to be members. They would belong to two unions. The workers from the Academy of Science and the universities would belong to this one, but also to the other one. Is there some book by Marx or Engels or some thinking by Marti that forbids someone ...[rephrases] or proscribes or definitively establishes the principle that a worker can belong to only one union?

I do not think we should weaken any of the unions we have. We should not weaken this one by taking away the science workers, although I think that science was not even mentioned in yesterday's plenary session. [chuckles] Science was not even mentioned in yesterday's plenary session, to tell the truth. The ICIDCA workers and the workers at the sugar industry centers should belong to that union and this new one we are talking about, that must be created. The agricultural workers also should have double membership. They should not lose the ties they have with their sector and with their union, but there should be a science workers union.

I tell you that this is a necessity. I will explain it as briefly as possible. We must integrate science. A union is an integrating factor for science. How do I see how we should work in this scientific area at this time? I see that first, we need to take some steps. We have already been taking steps in the field of science for some time. Lately we have taken more steps. We have created the scientific/productive hub in the western part of Havana. We have taken geographic location into account, but we have also had to include some institutions because of the kind of research they are doing.

We have grouped in this hub the biotechnology and medical research centers, all the ones that have to do ...[rephrases] the agricultural centers associated with biotechnology research. Some of these centers are not located around here. The Biological Products Center, for example, will be over there, when they complete it—and they are completing it—in Bejucal. For Cenpalab [Center for Production of Laboratory Animals], an extremely important institution without which there can be no scientific research, we have an extraordinary center that we are completing. It will be completed in the first quarter of next year. It is in Cacahual but belongs to this scientific hub. ICIDCA and INCA [Agricultural Sciences Institute] belong to it. CENSA [National Center for Animal Health] belongs to it, and it is in San Jose de las Lajas. ICA [Animal Science Institute] also belongs to it.

I think one of the ways to integrate science and develop greater cooperation is through these scientific hubs. But there cannot be only one scientific hub. I think another scientific hub will be developed in Villa Clara. Another scientific hub will be created in Santiago de Cuba. Another will be created in the western region. I have been considering this issue. This scientific hub is organized. The centers belong to different institutions.

Even the Council of State has some prestigious scientific research centers. The universities have them. The Academy of Science has them. The Agriculture Ministry has them. Various organizations have them. But these are joined together and meet systematically every month. They study common services for all of them, problems, cooperation between all of them, information, books, the literature they need, the essential things they need, their priorities, personnel training. They discuss it all. The scientific-productive hub in western Havana is a very important experiment in the field of scientific research.

This must be transferred to the rest of the country, as the conditions for the scientific hubs are created. It is not possible to include in this hub the biotechnology center or the centers that have been created in this field at Villa Clara University, or those that have been created in Santiago de Cuba. It is not possible. Therefore, there will have to be a similar system and a similar style of cooperation, unity, and work among all the centers in the different parts of the country.

But we must create other hubs in the capital itself, because there are many important research centers that do not belong to that hub. They belong to the metal-working, steel, mechanical industry, and chemical industry sector, and other things, other processes. We would not accomplish anything by mixing those with the others. Now we must create another scientific hub for that sector for research, to do work similar to what we are doing with the scientific hub in western Havana, and to solve many of the problems and meet many of the needs of those centers. They had been forgotten.

There is something more. I think it will be necessary to create a scientific hub with the research centers in the humanities, also here in the western region since we should not put it there with those for biotechnology or the medical industry or the medical or agricultural sciences.

We cannot lump it together with the steel industry, mechanical industry, or all those types of industries. But they have a very important role to play in our society. We need to unite them, organize them, and see which are the tasks they are going to carry out during the special period, what they are going to do in the present, and what they are going to do in the future. Those in the education field fit in that hub, the educational, sociological, and other research centers. We need to classify them. But I believe that in the western region there is only space for three scientific hubs. Already the idea of scientific hubs as instruments of cooperation and mutual support between the research centers has been a very helpful and beneficial idea, in my opinion.

These are developments of socialism. Capitalism cannot even dream of such things. But if we want to be socialists with a clear understanding of socialism...[changes thought] Socialism is cooperation. While under capitalism all the research centers are at war with one another, we have the privilege of getting all the scientific research centers to cooperate and help one another with equipment, personnel, experience, and knowledge. This multiplies the potential of the scientific research centers. Capitalism does not have that and cannot have it.

Now, there must be an integrating center or various integrational forces for all the scientific research centers, and this must be the Academy of Science. The Academy of Science no longer administers too many centers; it still has some. But the Academy of Science must integrate all these centers, whether they are in the fields of medicine, or biotechnology, industry, or the humanities. It should play the role of coordinating, organizing, and administering the hubs and promoting cooperation among them. That should be the role of the Academy of Science. In my opinion, it should have the role of integrating the scientific institutions of this country.

It would not be the only integrating force. Another integrating force would be forums like the one that recently took place and will be held every year. A forum is not an institution; it is a movement, a movement of integration, thanks to the efforts of some comrades of the party's Department of Basic Industry, primarily thanks to the efforts of Comrade [Eugenio] Mainegra and thanks to the efforts of Comrade [Pedro] Miret [Prieto]. They have put in a lot of work without much publicity, we might add. But what have they done? They did not create an organization, but they visited all the production centers of the country. They know all the specialists, the best in each field and industry, those who have found solutions. This is a distinguished group of engineers and technicians, and not scientists, because they know a lot about boilers or magnetizers, or other things. They began to establish communication among the centers, in the search for solutions, which at first began with spare parts and later continued with equipment, and that is how the movement has developed.

I would say that it has been an extremely important movement to integrate science and technology in our country. They did it without equipment. They created commissions; they worked in coordination with the Academy of Science. They created commissions at the municipal level. In any municipality of the country there are innovations. An innovation is made, a rationalization of something, a creation, an invention, in any municipality of the country. This forum has turned hundreds of thousands of people into researchers and scientists. We even had a housewife present. There were farmers who also attended, because there can be creative and innovative farmers. This forum...[rephrases] and I have been able to see this, especially within these past few days when I met with them at the sixth forum, and I was able to observe everything they had done. I could see the immense, quiet, but efficient work these comrades had done in this field.

Therefore, if the research centers are the scientific research centers, the forum then includes all the technicians, and all the skilled workers, and all the engineers, and all the professionals of production. Do you know what the creative force of hundreds of thousands of people represents? This forum has created just that. We had to change the name. It started with the modest ambition of solving the difficulties with capitalist spare parts in other times. Now we have to solve the problems with capitalist, socialist, and whatever other things there may be. Now they are not only capitalist parts alone; they are socialist parts that we have to manufacture, invent, and innovate. Now we have to take a Soviet crane and make it work however we can, even though there is not even one Soviet part. The task they have is tremendous.

Now, look at how the turn of events has forced us to be alert to know what we have to rectify, or what we have to introduce, not always rectify. I said a while ago that this union of education and science workers does not include 80 percent of the science workers. They are not included. But I can say something more. The comrades from the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces attended that forum because they have their skilled personnel, scientific personnel, in various areas because they have to maintain their weapons and have to do many other things, rationalize and innovate. They attended that forum. However, the scientific research centers did not attend.

What did we do last year when the previous forum ended? We proposed that the scientific research centers be included in that movement. Now, in that movement which was meeting during those days, all the scientific research centers were there, from all sectors, from the universities. Sometimes there are university departments that have two or three centers or groups of important researchers. The forum includes all the country's scientists, in addition to the technicians, skilled workers, production engineers, everyone. It is an impressive force. It is a second integrating element.

First, there is the Academy of Science, then the forums—I am going to call them forums in order not to say their long name, not to repeat it—and third, the unions. The third integrating force of all the scientific work has to be the unions, or the union. That is why I am proposing the need to form a union of science workers. This is a necessity, since this is not a sport. Sports are very important, as you know. This is something that has to do with the country's life, the country's future, the country's survival. Because this work done by rationalizers, inventors, innovators, and researchers is the major weapon this country has right now. It is the major instrument for coming out of, or for overcoming, the special period.

I am asserting this. I am not going to give reasons for it. It is obvious: the things they are doing, the things they are solving, the things they can do and solve, to the direct benefit of our populace at this time, by creating very important exportable resources, by replacing products we no longer have. Today we have to fertilize with bacteria. Today we have to use biological pesticides, wage the biological fight against pests and diseases. Today we have to rapidly create new plant varieties based on tissue cultures and even cells. We have already succeeded in producing the first sugarcane plants from a single sugarcane cell. Not from a piece of stalk, the way you plant cane, but we have gotten a plant from a microscopic sugarcane cell.

We are doing many things like this which show a lot of potential. The reason is to solve problems in our agriculture, just as the Voisin rational grazing system, applied in a rigorously scientific way, should solve the problem of the lack of cattle feed. We are carrying out an accelerated program of 6,000 rational grazing areas with electrified fences. Researchers and innovators have participated in this, people who have thought up little machines to grind cane and produce sacharina for the cattle there. This sacharina came from our research centers. People are working as teams to produce electricity in the event the electrical system fails, so that they can have electricity for the fences, produced by wind or by hand. In short, they have had to find many solutions.

This situation, of course, is going to promote the country's scientific development tremendously, because without the special period we could not even dream of the boost many things have received in our country. The same is true of the use of oxen. They had been forgotten. Everything was done with tractors. The tractors were like cars, vehicles for taking a ride out in the countryside, for everything. Oxen had been forgotten.

Now we have discovered that oxen not only save fuel in many activities. Oxen also raise human productivity, because there are times when because of the wetness of the soil or the size of the crops, you cannot send in a tractor. It would destroy everything. It would compact the soil. But a man or woman...[changes thought] Because there are some very outstanding women who have become ox-drivers, demonstrating that we have Mariana Grajales' in industrial quantities in this country. [applause] Women from Havana have learned to drive oxen. What do they do? They do the work of 10, 12, or 15 men, weeding, doing some things that must be done by hand.

Now we have discovered that the day we have enough fuel, we cannot simply return to the age of the tractor and that is all. Likewise, the day we have enough fuel, we cannot give up the bicycles. They are daughters of the special period, but they had been completely forgotten here. [applause]

(?Now it is) the special period. They are not only for health, for millions of things, but here they had been forgotten. Everything was buses, the Ikarus buses that were poisoning the city and getting 4 km per gallon. That was something ruinous. The special period is going to teach us many things, really, and is going to advance many things. Someday we are going to be grateful for the special period, because we are going to move forward more than we would have in 20 years. Because human beings are like that, unfortunately.

Sometimes things are clear, obvious, and reasonable, and you can try to convince them and convince them and convince them, but only when they see the urgent need, and have no alternative, do they look at oxen. Gentlemen, we must domesticate oxen, domesticate oxen, domesticate oxen, but as long as there is one drop of fuel, it is a difficult battle to get oxen domesticated. That is what human beings are like. They have those characteristics, and they often need the force, the push from necessity to solve certain problems. That is what is happening to us with the special period.

I do not want to run on much longer, because I have had to give a few speeches in recent days, and I do not want to repeat myself. But I should point out that the Soviet Union no longer exists, as a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as a union of socialist republics, and as a union of Soviet republics. Those three things have disappeared: the union, the socialist part, and the Soviet part. Starting with the meeting yesterday in Alma Ata, the other countries have stated their desire to participate in a union of independent and sovereign states. [words indistinct] sovereign countries, they are still discussing some things concerning the economic sphere and the issue of defense. They have still to resolve some issues, but the USSR has already been disbanded.

This is something that naturally grieves and saddens us, because of the role the USSR has played, because of the relations it has had with Cuba, because of the friendship it has had with our country. This also implies important new tasks for our country, for the policy we will follow in the new situation, in which 15 independent states have been created. As we have said on other occasions, we intend to continue to carry out our relations with those nations. That is reasonable. So we will recognize the new independent states, all of them, and as far as possible we will carry out our trade, diplomatic, and political relations with those new independent states as we do with any independent nation.

Under these circumstances, we base ourselves on the historic ties that developed with the Soviet Union, with the peoples of the Soviet Union, and with each of those republics. There have been many contacts, ties, and friendships that have developed over the course of 30 years, with all the republics that made up the Soviet Union, in addition to our relations with the Soviet Union. As you know, thousands and thousands of Cubans have studied in the Soviet Union. They have studied in practically all the republics of the Soviet Union. So the number of embassies will have to increase, since we will need to have representatives in each of those republics. There are economic ties that also have been created. Many of those republics consumed our products, and they need our products. We consumed their products, and we need their products. So now we must carry out a whole reformulation and orchestrate the forms by which to carry out relations with independent nations.

But besides our sadness because of everything that has happened there, the least we can hope for is that these independent nations will attain the greatest economic and political stability possible. The least we can hope for is that the greatest harmony and peace will prevail among them. The least we can hope for is that cooperation will develop among them. Since we do not conceive of how those countries can develop...[rephrases] They made up a union of republics with an extraordinarily integrated economy in which some produced a mineral and sent it to another industry, some produced spare parts and sent them to others, some produced one kind of food, others produced fuel. In short, over the course of more than 70 years, the USSR created a highly integrated economy in all those territories included in the Soviet Union. So how can we really conceive of the development of those countries if they do not attain a level of cooperation or maintain that integration?

Because the world is moving towards integration. After centuries of war, Europe is moving towards integration. It has moved quite a ways towards economic integration, and it is also moving towards political integration. It is moving towards the use of a single currency. It is moving towards the disappearance of all customs barriers on its borders. So it is moving towards the integration of what we could call a powerful, multinational state.

It is moving in that direction. In Latin America the need for integration has been posed, and it is essential. It is a matter of life or death for Latin America to integrate, if it is going to have a place in the world of the future. If it is going to have a future, it must move towards integration. It must move towards the materialization of the dreams of Bolivar and other liberators: union. It will have to move towards economic integration first, and then political integration. Therefore, one cannot conceive of the Soviet Union moving in the opposite direction and that all those republics, from a union of integrated republics, will desintegrate more and more.

I do not know how they will manage things in the monetary sphere, if they will succeed in maintaining a single currency or if there will be as many currencies as independent states. What will happen on the borders with the customs offices and tariff barriers? How will trade be carried out? How will that whole transportation system that was created for the union of republics work? Those gigantic railroads, that highway system, those electricity networks, and that system for bringing electricity to the country? Those oil pipelines, those gas pipelines, those ports? How will all that work?

It is difficult to imagine them working without a high level of cooperation among them. That is why I said this was one of the things we hoped for, that we have to hope for. Because with everything that has happened, and what this has meant for our country and our country's economy, and the fact that this has forced us into a difficult, very difficult special period, with everything that has happened, negative and damaging things for our country could still happen if those independent nations do not become stable, if ethnic conflicts occur, if national conflicts occur. This could make our difficulties even worse. Not much worse, but this could make our difficulties even worse.

There are other forms, others situations that could hurt us. If those nations do not become politically and economically stable, if their food production drops, one of the consequences is that they may be forced to import large amounts of food. They are already doing so. Of course, the imperialists are happy about the events that have occurred in the socialist bloc. They go around looking for money and food and things to send over

there, loans to give them, although we have not seen many concrete things. But they are talking about it. They are even frightened, because several of those nations have nuclear weapons.

Things have gone so far that even the Western countries are worried about what could happen. They are also afraid of great waves of emigration. Those who talked so much about the Berlin Wall may even end up building a wall from the Baltic to the Adriatic, to prevent millions or tens of millions of people from emigrating to the West as a result of the calamitous economic situation. So they are worried about this.

So the lack of economic stability, the lack of production, if the food production situation continues to get worse in these independent states, if they do not solve their problems, if they do not recover their levels of agricultural production, they will become food importers, with the risk of raising international food prices and affecting us in that way. It is enough to say that the price of powdered milk has already almost doubled as a consequence of the enormous imports of powdered milk the Soviet Union has ordered. The prices of other foods that we also have to import may likewise rise.

Another circumstance is that if oil production in the Soviet Union, or what used to be the Soviet Union, continues to drop, if they do not recover their oil production, if they do not return to the levels they had, and if on the contrary, it continues to drop, another of the consequences may be an increase in oil prices. As I have already said, these are monopoly prices. The disappearance of Soviet oil from the international market may affect oil prices, and affect us in that way.

If those new independent nations do not become economically and politically stable, it could affect us because the food products we have to import will become more expensive, and the minimum of oil our country needs under these special period conditions will become more expensive. That is why we must attentively follow the development of events. All this is underway. Some formal aspects may be lacking, but really we can say that the death certificate for the Soviet Union was signed yesterday in Alma Ata. This coincided with our congress.

It is fitting that the population think and reflect on all these things, and understand all the factors that in one way or another may have an influence. But I believe that you, the teachers, are prepared for the challenge that is before us. I believe that now the importance of the issue of participating in productive activites must be emphasized as much as possible, especially where we can, which is in the fields. The goal of self-sufficiency must be emphasized as much as possible, where it is possible, as an important thing, as a very important task during this special period.

Think of it: There are a million students who must be fed. Half of them must be given breakfast, lunch, and dinner every day. Others must be given lunch. This includes the universities, secondary schools, semiboarding schools, child care centers, etc. Self-sufficiency is very important. Of course, the country is making great efforts to produce food for the national plan, but whoever plants a garden in the tiny plot of land in the courtyard of their building is helping the country in this special period. They are saving transportation of something, fuel. They are doing something. They are helping, everyone who plants something, everyone who does something.

This movement has gained great strength in the capital. It must gain all the needed strength in the education sector, and without abandoning the obligations which any polytechnical school has. It is not a matter of abandoning the banana plantations that must supply the cities. It is a matter of taking care of the banana plantations and also being self-sufficient with two, three, five, seven, 10 caballerias, or however many they have, at the agronomy schools, the ISCA, or wherever. I have already told you that here in Havana, we gave five caballerias from the Martinez Prieto Sugarmill to the Jose Antonio Echeverria University City [CUJAE], or as I call it, the ISPJAE [Jose Antonio Echevarria Higher Polytechnical Institute]—that is the name it has now—to produce food. This helps a lot and contributes to shaping the necessary awareness and spirit for the special period.

We must propose the goal of not halting education under any circumstances during this special period, or of not halting any part of education. We must arrange things so that under any circumstances, all children will continue to have a teacher, no matter where they are. [applause] If it was a glorious thing that the literacy camgaign did not stop in the middle of the mercenary invasion, it must be a much more glorious thing not to halt our education system, even under the worst circumstances. That is the awareness you must have, which all comrades must have, and which all the students must have.

You must protect education as if it were something sacred, so it is not interrupted, so it is not affected, and even so it continues to improve. Perhaps these special period conditions will reinforce our awareness to do better work in every way. But I also want to tell you something very important. We see the professors and teachers as a veteran army of the revolution, [applause] as a vetern army of the nation, as a huge army, an army of approximately 300,000 teachers, in addition to the workers, the other workers who participate with you in the process. An army of 300,000 teachers is a truly extraordinary, powerful army.

The party needs this force. The nation needs this force in these difficult times. The nation needs the ideas you should defend with determination and courage. I said earlier that trenches of ideas are worth more than trenches of stones. You are trenches of stone, because I know you are the nation's soldiers in the military sense of the word. But what we basically need is for you to be soldiers in the revolution's trenches of ideas, soldiers of ideas, [applause] soldiers of the nation's ideas and

values, soldiers of the revolution's ideas, soldiers of the ideas of socialism, now more than ever. [applause]

When others are cowards, we have the double duty of being courageous, [applause] and to remember what Marti said, that while there are many men without dignity, there are men who carry the dignity of the entire world within themselves. [applause] Let us rise up, let us rise up [repeats] with Marti's ideas, let us rise up with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Let us rise up with the ideas of justice, equality, and the brotherhood of man. Let us know how to be the guardians of this hope that others have placed in us, and let us also tell those who have told us that their people's solidarity will never fail Cuba: Cuba will not fail the peoples of the world. [applause]

Cuba will not stop fulfilling its duties. Cuba will know how to preserve hope. Cuba will know how to rise to the occasion destiny has presented us with. Cuba will know how to fulfill the role that history has given us. Cuba accepts this meeting with glory to which we have been invited. I repeat that we did not look for glory nor a place in history, but since life has given it to us, we will know how to take our place in history, and we will know how to obtain the glory we deserve. [applause]

This time, this time, [repeats] I will repeat our slogan. There are no foreigners here. We have not renounced our slogans, even though at the forum I said more or less the same thing, but in a different way. Today I will say it in the old way: Socialism or death, fatherland or death, we will win. [applause]

ANPP Approves 10th Regular Session Declaration

FL3012150791 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 28 Dec 91

[Text] The National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP] has approved a declaration corresponding to the 10th Regular Session, which was held at the Palace of Conventions in Havana.

The document states that along with increasing demonstrations of respect and solidarity, there have also been frequent statements at parliamentary meetings and by political leaders about the situation in our country. However, there have also been cases in which opinions or suggestions have been made about changing or eliminating the social, economic, and political system established in Cuba. The ANPP considers that, if Cuba is absent from such meetings, these deliberations are a fruitless monologue, to say the least.

The text also adds that our island reiterates its willingness to discuss any problem, including a debate on improving our political system, at a forum on Latin American integration and unity. Of course, we hope all the participants in that forum will show the same willingness with respect to their countries. No one who is honestly interested in helping the Cuban people overcome the current situation can ignore the fact that our country is facing the most persistent and stubborn campaign of aggressions by the United States.

The document states that in Cuba's case, what is really at stake, and what constitutes our people's highest priority at this time, is our nation's survival and independence, precisely in order to build a genuinely democratic political system in accordance with our concepts. Cuba respects the right of each and every nation in the world to adopt the political and economic system that may result from each country's historical experience and national consensus, but also demands, with equal firmness, respect for the historical project that can only be conceived of and carried out if it has the unqualified support of the vast majority of the population.

Latin American history calls us to unity, but it is only legitimate to aspire to unity based on diversity, a plurality of systems, and respect for the decisions by each country and each people concerning whatever form of political organization they have chosen. In Cuba, socialism is based on the people's constant, conscious participation in the decisions that govern their future. That is the essence of our democracy, which does not ratify itself through deceptive formal mechanisms that give an apparent representativity, but rather through institutions born from the revolutionary practice of the masses.

Nevertheless, a political system like ours, which arose from an indigenous revolution, needs to be improved in order to attain better forms of organization which will ensure that the highest goals of the Cuban people are reached. Thus, in the midst of the circumstances our country is experiencing today, we have undertaken alternatives to improve our political system, including the electoral mechanism, in close consultation with our people. We are not trying to please anyone with this process. The Cuban people have shown that not even in the greatest dangers have they yielded in anything that concerns their principles.

From Cuba's point of view, the essential matters in its relations with Latin America are compatible with mutual interests. It is a matter of achieving Latin American integration. The socioeconomic development attained by our revolution puts us in a very good position to participate in the efforts to integrate the continent.

In its final part, the text states that if Cuba were to fall victim to U.S. hostility, and an option for change chosen by an entire people were to be lost, the damage to the sovereignty and independence of all the continent's countries would be irreparable. The Cuban legislators, meeting in the recently concluded assembly, have confirmed their confidence that nothing will be able to come between the peoples of our America, and that together we will advance towards our common destiny of unity and integration set forth by our founding fathers.

Raul Castro Begins Working Tour of Western Army

Begins 26 Dec

FL3012150591 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 28 Dec 91

[Text] Army General Raul Castro Ruz, the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] and minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR], began a working visit to the Western Army territory on 26 December. Division General Leopoldo Cintra Frias, the chief of that command, informed him about the results of the work and the measures being taken to ensure fulfillment of the assigned duties during the special period. The FAR minister was accompanied by Division General Leopoldo Cintra Frias, Division General Ulises Rosales del Toro, chief of the General Staff—both Politburo members—and other FAR chiefs and officers.

Colonel Pedro Martinez, the chief of a Western Army unit, informed the FAR minister and his delegation about the results obtained in training during this past year; which allowed this command to obtain the status of vanguard FAR unit. After touring the unit's facilities and attending a military ceremony, Raul met with the personnel and stressed to them the progress he had observed since his previous visit and the results obtained in combat training and readiness, as well as in fulfilling the self-sufficiency plans. The second secretary of the Central Committee also referred to the current international situation and how we should continue to prepare to confront it, in accordance with what our commander in chief has said.

As part of his tour, Raul visited the Western Army's Aleida Fernandez Farm, where he was able to observe the results obtained with the application of science and technology, among other achievements. Later, the FAR minister visited other Western Army units, where he observed their very high combat readiness.

During his second day of work, Raul held a warm and moving meeting with a brigade of the Blas Roca Calderio Contingent which is building defense works. Then he visited other army units, where the visitors observed the effort that is being made to repair, recycle, and produce spare parts to continue to ensure high combat training and readiness during the special period.

At the end of his second day of work, the FAR minister visited Bauta Municipality, where Municipal PCC First Secretary Ricardo Fernandez (Yero) gave him a detailed explanation of the measures that have been taken in the municipality based on the agreements reached at the Fourth PCC Congress, and which include fuel conservation, the food program, and defense tasks. In a simple, moving ceremony, Raul awarded the Defense Readiness Banner, second stage, to a defense zone in Bauta Municipality.

Concludes 30 Dec

FL3012161191 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Army General Raul Castro, second secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Central Committee and minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR], has concluded his tour of Western Army units. During his third and last day of tours of main units of the Western Army, the minister of the FAR visited a chemical defense unit. During this year of instruction, positive results have been achieved in its activities. At the unit, Comrade Raul was informed about the work carried out in the area of self-sufficiency, which will allow it to supply its own needs in basic food items in the coming year.

At a tank unit, the Iron Fist of the Armed Forces, Raul saw the work done for the preservation and conservation of technical equipment and armaments. During the visit Raul had a friendly conversation with unit members.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] Two years of [words indistinct]
[Castro] How many?
[Unidentified speaker] Two years.
[Castro] Really?
[Unidentified speaker] [words indistinct]
[Castro] How do you like it?
[Unidentified speaker] Very good. There has been a lot of political work. We try to ....
[Castro, interrupting] The men in your battalion are good men.
[Unidentified speaker] Good men.
[Second unidentified speaker] Comrade Minister, as you can see they are an example of a technical battalion. It requires personnel that possess similar technical capabilities.
[Castro] This is a communications battalion, as it was known in the past. [chuckles] [words indistinct] [end recording]

During his tour, Comrade Raul was able to see the high level of combative preparedness and readiness of the main units that defend the capital. Raul also saw the efforts made to guarantee the protection and vitality of the capital. Afterwards, the delegation went to Arroyo Naranjo. At this municipality, they were able to observe the quality of production obtained with the application of the micro-jet system. These are part of the Western Army farming enterprise. This unit hopes to collect some 16,000 quintals of products per caballeria during the harvest that will begin in February 1992.

During his visit to San Miguel del Padron, the minister of the FAR was informed on the municipality's prioritized plans. Eduardo Tejera, first secretary of the PCC and president of the Defense Council of this territory, emphasized the measures applied to increase farming production and referred to the efforts of enterprises and units to support self-sufficiency. The official staff of San Miguel del Padron showed the delegation an exposition

on the municipality's innovations and spare parts. On this occasion, General Raul spoke to residents of that area.

Raul Castro was accompanied, during his tour, by Commander of the Revolution Juan Almeida Bosque; Jorge Lescano Perez, first secretary of the PCC in Havana City; Division Generals Ulises Rosales del Toro and Leopoldo Cintra Frias, all members of the PCC Politburo; as well as other leaders and officials of the FAR.

Havana Volunteers, Farm Workers Finish Program

FL3012163491 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] During the agricultural operation in honor of the Fourth Communist Party of Cuba Congress, which has now concluded in Havana Province, 1,388,000 quintals of foodstuffs and produce were harvested. One thousand [figure indistinct] caballerias were weeded and progress was made in another 203 caballerias in the last three months of the year. The operation concluded with a meeting in honor of the more than 7,000 members of the contingent, farm heads, basic units of production, and with the awarding of flags and pennants to outstanding contingents and camps.

The workers mobilized from Alquizar and Guines were the most outstanding in harvesting and in field cleaning. Volunteers from Melena del Sur, Guines, and Nueva Paz were also honored.

Camaguey Students Contribute in Weeding Tasks

FL3012203791 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Through outstanding efforts, students have eradicated the dense weeds that were threatening production in 360 citrus caballerias in Camaguey. Students from 16 new type schools in the Sierra de Cubitas Municipality eliminated the weeds in 14 workdays, using machetes and hoes. Specialists had classified the weeds as dense proportionate to size.

An average of 4,000 students took part in the task. The students achieved a high level of weed control by hand. The expeditious weeding now allows the trees to bloom more profusely, thereby producing a greater quantity of fruit, and allowing access for fertilization, irrigation, application of herbicides, thus providing better harvest conditions.

In addition to the manual weeding, another 380 caballerias benefited from machine weeding, which means most of the plantations are free of weeds.

Haiti

Delegation Seeks Aristide Approval of Theodore

FL3012214691 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide met on 29 December in Caracas with a delegation of parliamentary and political representatives who left Port-au-Prince for Venezuela on 28 December. They plan to discuss Haiti's political situation with Mr. Aristide, the appointment of a new prime minister in particular. This meeting took place at La Viletta, the official residence reserved for foreign visitors by the Venezuelan Government, located in a military area of Caracas.

The appointment of the new head of government is considered the first step toward a negotiated solution to the Haitian crisis that began on 30 September, following the military coup that overthrew the former president. Former President Aristide said he would accept the candidacy of moderate communist Rene Theodore as prime minister if the candidacy of Social Democrat Victor Benoit—his own recommendation—is not approved by Parliament. Theodore's name was presented jointly by the presidents of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, along with the name of Marc Bazin. Deposed President Aristide subsequently disapproved Bazin.

The delegation that left for Caracas is composed of Port-au-Prince Mayor Evans Paul; Senator Turned Delpe; Deputies Joseph Fignole Jean-Louis and Samuel Milord; and two teachers, Micha Gaillard and Paul Dejean. The three parliamentarians are members of the National Front for Change and Democracy, the coalition that supported Father Aristide's candidacy in the December 1990 elections, one of the four political groups represented in the Haitian Parliament.

Official sources who wish to remain anonymous reveal that this delegation is hoping to convince Aristide to accept National Reconstruction Movement Leader Rene Theodore as his prime minister.

Belizaire Plans To Resign Unless Embargo Lifted

FL3012234091 Port-au-Prince LE NOUVELLISTE in French No. 34.208 27-29 Dec 91 pp 1, 2

[Letter from Senate President Dejean Belizaire to his colleagues, with copies to Provisional President Joseph Nerette, Prime Minister Jean-Jacques Honorat, Chamber of Deputies President Duly Brutus, and OAS Secretary General Joao Clemente Baena Soares, dated Port-au-Prince, 26 Dec]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] To the honorable members of the Senate of the Republic,

Dear Senators, I wish to inform you of the following:

The embargo imposed against Haiti by the 34 member countries of the OAS is today becoming genocide, having disastrous, distressing consequences on all aspects of our existence as a people. The situation is deteriorating rapidly—and irreversibly in many cases—on political, economic, and social planes. Following more than two months under this inhumane, devastating, and unjustified embargo, and after numerous concessions have been made by the Haitian Parliament to help representatives of the OAS member states withdraw from hasty, antidemocratic decisions prejudicial to the sovereignty of the Haitian state, the Haitian people expected the embargo to be lifted on the occasion of Christmas Day, which marks the birth of Jesus Christ. On the contrary, that day was celebrated in sadness, shortage, and distress.

Just as in 1915, the first year of the American occupation, Haiti is again experiencing the sorrow of seeing its unnatural sons, haunted by a thirst for power, ally themselves with foreign powers to wrest political influence for themselves. I myself, not wishing to be an instrument of humiliation and oppression for my country, through negotiations that increasingly appear to be a fool's deal, I regret to inform you that I will resign my position as president of the Senate of the Republic of Haiti on 13 January 1992 if the embargo against Haiti is not lifted by the OAS on 31 December 1991. [passage omitted]

While renewing my faith in the necessity for development of genuine representative democracy in Haiti, I offer you my best wishes for development in dignity, solidarity, and mutual understanding for all peoples in the Hemisphere regardless of race. Signed: Engineer Dejean Belizaire, president of the Senate

Youths Agree To Leave Canadian Consulate 30 Dec

FL3012222991 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] The 17 youths who have been occupying the premises of the Canadian Consulate in Port-au-Prince since 20 November will leave the building today at precisely 1400 GMT, according to joint sources reports to AFP. Their youths' departure was announced on the phone on 28 December by Patrick Moise, the party in charge of international relations for the United Militants Front [FMR]. Moise explained that they would depart under official guarantees made to Canadian Ambassador to Haiti, Bernard Dussault. Moise added that he would like the national and international press to be present at the moment of the group's departure.

A Canadian spokesman told AFP that International Red Cross observers would be on the spot, and that the Canadian ambassador to Haiti would secure guarantees from the civil and police authorities that these 17 youths would be treated in compliance with the law.

In other statements, made primarily by phone, Moise expressed the fear that this may be tortured or killed by the military after they leave the embassy. He therefore requested other formal guarantees. Telephone discussions were initiated directly on that score between the spokesman of the group and the Canadian diplomats in Port-au-Prince who said these youths could expect to be arrested for having illegally occupied the consulate premises.

According to information provided by the police and communicated to the press by Senator Serge Joseph, the vice president of the Senate Justice and Interior Committee, the group has two grenades in its possession. Moise denies this information and says it is completely false.

AFP further reports that Moise claims 16 of these youths are not well due to a lack of food. At the beginning, the number was 19, but two of them recently left the consulate voluntarily. They were immediately arrested by the police, and will be handed over to the law within the next few days. The group includes three females. Canada denied these young people political asylum, claiming that the FMR has friendly ties with Cuba and Libya, and charging that the individuals in question threatened Canadian diplomats in Haiti. Venezuela also denied the group asylum.

President Salinas Sends Message to Gorbachev

PA2712152691 Mexico City XHTV Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 27 Dec 91

["Text" of message sent by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari to former President Mikhail Gorbachev, from Mexico City on 26 December]

[Text] Upon learning of your resignation from the post of president of the USSR and having heard your speech, I wish to send you a warm salute.

The people of Mexico recognize you as an exceptional leader in the history of the 20th Century. You opened new areas for liberty, not only for the people of the republics that made up the USSR, but for the entire world.

To the peoples of the 12 republics, I send my best wishes that they may find peaceful, constructive, and stable answers to the problems they now face.

For you and your family, allow me to express the most special personal appreciation.

[Signed] From your friend, the president of Mexico.

Solana Evaluates Relations With Central America

PA3112002191 Mexico City Red Nacional 13 Imevision Television in Spanish 1300 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] The achievement of peace and the improvement of democracy in Latin America are part of Mexico's moral commitment to its neighboring countries. This is also in the nation's security interest because of Mexico's geographic proximity to these countries. This was stated by Mexican Foreign Secretary Fernando Solana Morales when making an annual evaluation of Mexico's relations with Central America in 1991 and the prospects for 1992. This analysis was published by the newspaper UNOMASUNO on 29 December. Solana Morales stated that Mexico will maintain the political contacts it made in 1991 and will promote more than 1,100 actions with the countries of the region. He reiterated that the San Jose Agreement will continue in effect. As a result of this agreement, petroleum has been supplied to Central America in preferential terms for the past 10 years.

Solana Morales recalled that Mexico has been mediator in the negotiations to obtain peace in Guatemala and El Salvador. The latter country is at the final stretch in the search for a solution to the conflict.

He stressed that the talks to sign free trade treaties with Costa Rica and Nicaragua are quite advanced. The foreign secretary also said that the summit of presidents of Mexico, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua held in January 1991 produced unprecedented trade agreements that will yield their initial fruits in 1992.

* Izquierdo Hebrard Group, Veracruz Case Linked

92WD0227A Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 787 2 Dec 91 pp 6-9

[Article by Carlos Puig]

[Excerpts] Washington, D.C.—Despite the news blackout the U.S. and Mexican Governments have imposed on the case of the agents who were killed by Mexican soldiers in the state of Veracruz during a drug raid, officials, agents, and analysts in both countries continue to provide the press with information. The additional data confirms reports that the agents of the Office of the Attorney General of the Republic (PGR) were deliberately murdered by soldiers who were protecting a cocaine shipment coming from Colombia.

Sources who insist on remaining anonymous have provided information which, cross-checked and confirmed in both Mexico and Washington, establishes the following facts:

- That there was radio communication between the Colombian plane and the secret airstrip, that there is a tape of that conversation on which the pilot of the drug plane can be heard warning the people on the ground that he is being followed. That the ground station was at the landing strip, where the soldiers were, so they had to know.

That on the landing strip, to one side of the military detachment, a truck had been parked since the night before, containing airplane fuel and two pumps to refuel the plane.

That the secret airstrip was one of those most frequently used by drug traffickers protected by Arturo Izquierdo Hebrard and Federico Lagunes during the 1980s, and until a short time ago there were even "ceviche stands" to serve arriving passengers.

That the "verbal agreement" with the Colombians had been made by people of Izquierdo Herard's organization. Herard is Arturo Durazo's ex-brother-in-law and is famous in Veracruz as a drug trafficker.

That the shoot-out was videotaped from a fourth plane, which thus far has not been mentioned by the press or the governments. The plane belonged to the Mexican-U.S. joint interception program and had come from the United States. It was hit by the soldiers' fire and had to flee, landing in U.S. territory. [passage omitted]

Frequency 7425

During the week, reporters from PROCESO have spoken with many sources close to the case in both countries, ranging from government officials to agents of several of the law enforcement agencies involved in the investigation. They have obtained the following new information:

Before the drug traffickers' plane landed on the airstrip at Tlalixcoyan, the pilot communicated with the ground

at 7425 on the 40-meter band. The conversation, which later switched to the 2-meter band, was overheard by the Mexican planes that were following the drug traffickers, and there is a recording of it. Two sources confirmed that part of the conversation is a request for help and protection for the Colombians waiting for them on the ground, as their own radar had picked up the planes that were following them.

The night before, a radio base had been set up alongside the airstrip, and a truck with Veracruz license plates had been parked there with airplane fuel and two pumps to refuel the drug traffickers' plane. This leads the sources to conclude that anyone who was near the landing strip would have to know what type of activities were going on there.

The PROCESO reporters were able to confirm the presence of a fourth plane. It was a Citation, and until a few months earlier it had been registered in the United States under the number N4614N. At the time, however, it bore the Mexican X, as the PGR's two interception planes were in the shop and this plane had been rented from the Customs Department. This fourth plane never landed, and it arrived after the two PGR planes landed, the first one having met with gunfire and the second having been secured by the soldiers.

This plane, piloted by two U.S. customs agents and carrying two PGR agents, was hit by the soldiers firing from the ground. The sources consulted do not agree whether the plane was damaged or not; some say that a flap was knocked out and that the landing "in a safe place" was complicated. Other sources say they do not know whether the Citation was damaged. The pilot's name is Joe Monzon, the copilot, Laura Goldberg. Both are Americans who are training Mexican agents in the cooperation program that the PGR and the U.S. Customs Office have been operating for six months to intercept Colombian aircraft. The goal is to have only Mexican agents flying over national territory once the training is completed. For the time being, the drug agents are not only receiving training, but they are also making sure that these planes are used only in the joint interception operations.

Izquierdo Hebrard's People

According to the officials interviewed by PROCESO reporters, it was this plane that videotaped the incident. One of the cassettes was kept by the Customs Department, and the other stayed with the PGR agents.

Although it has been confirmed that there were no DEA agents involved in the operation itself, the reporters learned in their interviews that agents of that organization did inspect the crime scene within hours of the incident.

Moreover, one of the people suspected of having established contact between the drug traffickers and their protectors belongs to the organization of the notorious Veracruz drug trafficker Arturo Izquierdo Hebrard, former brother-in-law of Arturo Durazo Moreno.

The truck that was waiting with fuel for the plane had license plates that link it directly to Izquierdo, say the sources.

According to a report in the WASHINGTON POST published on Friday 29 November, Mexican sources say that two civilians, suspected of having made available the secret landing strip, are now being held by authorities.

Arturo Izquierdo Hebrard comes from Nautla, Veracruz, where he inherited property from his father. One of his holdings is the Rancho Camino Real, where Izquierdo, a partner of Miguel Angel Felix Gallardo, processed cocaine and heroin in the 1980s. The Izquierdo family empire was built under the protection of Arturo Durazo Moreno, who until 1960 was married to Izquierdo's sister Graciela, and with the help of Felipe Lagunes, nephew of the current governor of Veracruz, Agustin Acosta Lagunes.

Durazo took refuge at the Izquierdo's ranch when the authorities were trying to apprehend him. Jose Gonzalez, author of the book *The Dark Side of Blackie Durazo* ["Lo negro del Negro"], describes the Izquierdo ranch thus: "It has landing strips, and at night, one merely has to pull a switch to light up everything as if it were daytime."

A DEA agent to whom this reporter spoke claims that when he was working undercover, he found out about the landing strip at Tlalixcoyan, and he recalls that so many drug planes were landing there that there were even "ceviche stands" set up to greet them.

Izquierdo went into hiding after Durazo's fall, but he came into public view again in 1984 when he as accused of being the mastermind of the murder of Deputy Roque Spinozo Foglia, who had been the leader of the sugarcane workers.

In 1986, his partner Felipe Lagunes was murdered (PROCESO No. 654). According to the medical report and autopsy, he was tortured before he died.

When Roque Spinozo was murdered, Izquierdo disappeared from Veracruz and was not seen again until August 1988, when he went to Nautla to lend his support to Arturo Iglesias Cobos, the candidate of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) who was eventually elected municipal president.

It was then that Izquierdo sold his ranch to Felix Gallardo, through his front men Mario Dominguez, Nicolas Esquerra, Jose Angel Gil, Ramiro Murrieta, and Fernando Ramos. The last time Felix Gallardo was at the Rancho Camino Real was in 1988. Arturo Izquierdo was living in Guadalajara, but after the arrest of his buddy in 1989, it is said that he fled to Brownsville. But if the DEA's suspicions are correct, Izquierdo is back in business. [passage omitted]

Costa Rica

Government Announces Recognition of CIS

PA2912171991 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2039 GMT 28 Dec 91

[Text] San Jose 28 Dec (NOTIMEX) - On 28 December, the Costa Rican Government announced its decision to recognize the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and to establish diplomatic relations with Russia and the other countries that form the new political union.

According to Foreign Minister Bernd Niehaus, Christian Tattenbach, permanent Costa Rican representative to the United Nations, had presented the letter recognizing the CIS to the UN General Secretariat on 26 December.

President Rafael Angel Calderon informed NOTIMEX that despite the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, Arturo Robles, the current Costa Rican ambassador in Moscow, would continue in that position.

On 27 December, Valeriya N. Kalmyk, Russian ambassador in San Jose, changed the red flag with the hammer and sickle for the new red, blue and white flag of Russia, which now flies over the diplomatic mission in San Jose.

According to an announcement by the Russian diplomat, the embassy property has already been transferred to the Russian Federation.

El Salvador

Sources Say Peace Process in 'Final Stage'

PA3012222291 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1200 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani has met with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. The secretary general's plans to promote an agreement between the Salvadoran Government and the guerrillas have now reached the final stage. Cristiani, who arrived in New York and entered the UN building through the garage to avoid the press, has made it publicly known that he does not consider it easy to reach a definite agreement by 31 December.

If Cristiani has the political will, the main obstacles might be surpassed today, said Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] Commander Leonel Gonzalez. Key points are pending, such as the FMLN participation in the new National Civilian Police, which will replace the current security organizations; the guerrillas joining political life; the fate of the land in the areas controlled by the guerrillas; the cease-fire; and the timetable for implementing future agreements.

Progress has been made in the appointment of a coordinator of the new Civilian Police and the members of a commission to evaluate and purge the Armed Forces. The timetable and manner of disarmament and demobilization of the FMLN continues to be one of the strongest points of disagreement, worsened by the fact that the government has not yet presented a formal plan for the reduction of the Army, said sources close to the negotiations that began here on 16 December.

Guerrilla sources think it is a bad sign that the Salvadoran Government has asked that the cease-fire meetings be held separately and not directly, as originally planned. The two parties met separately with Marion Goulding, UN official in charge of peace operations, and worked on documents he prepared to bring together the parties' stands.

The UN peace force in El Salvador might be formed by Spain, Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela, members of the so-called Friends of Perez de Cuellar Group in his mediation efforts and whose ambassadors participated in the talks. The United States and EC countries might also form part of the UN peace force. Following his meeting with Cristiani, Perez de Cuellar met with the FMLN commanders, presumably to report on the various stands.

It has been said that the meeting on 30 December will deal with socioeconomic issues, particularly the fate of the land in the areas controlled by the guerrillas. It has even been proposed that the land titles be purchased from their previous owners with money from an international fund, but there has been some discrepancies to this effect with the government. It is believed that the United Nations will present a document to the parties after some progress is made.

Perez de Cuellar will conclude his UN term at midnight on 31 December, the next day the Egyptian Butrus Ghali will replace him as secretary general. Therefore, it is believed that 31 December is a deadline for an important agreement as Ghali would have other priorities when he takes over.

UN sources are commenting that due to a lack of time, only a bridge agreement will be reached and not a final agreement that was initially planned and that Perez de Cuellar would have liked at the end of his 10 years as UN secretary general.

FMLN Station Tells Cristiani To Support Peace

PA3112013391 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Station commentary: "A Forced Flight to New York"]

[Text] Each Salvadoran must answer the following question: Who will be responsible if peace is not achieved before the end of the year? The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, halted offensive actions through a unilateral truce. Time and time again, the FMLN has presented proposals that have enabled the negotiations to make rapid progress since the New York agreements were signed.

The FMLN has maintained the truce, despite the Armed Forces' sectors' attempts to break it by launching continued offensive military actions against our positions. We have gone to New York with our highest representatives, who have decision-making powers. They are the five members of our general command. Most of the issues under negotiation have already been resolved, but delicate topics still need to be discussed. For this reason, Cristiani's presence was necessary. Cristiani's attitude has been contradictory and wavering. On 28 December he was asking for our disarmament as a condition for going to New York. On 29 December, government negotiator Oscar Santamaria denied what everyone in El Salvador had heard in a presidential house statement.

We are really concerned about the inconsistencies and indecisiveness of a government that does not govern and that is shaken by pressure from the extreme right. It is a government that does not fulfill its role. Cristiani boarded the plane to New York not of his own free will but because of his extreme political weakness. He feels the powerful pressure exerted by the Venezuelan and Mexican Governments, as well as that exerted by the U.S. Government, which is not willing to give one more dollar to the high command, assassin of priests.

The government, the FMLN, and all social sectors have the historic responsibility to attain peace now that favorable domestic and international conditions exist. If Cristiani hitches himself up to the war tanks of the extreme right, he will possibly bog down the peace process. Then the FMLN would have to show the small group of warmongering military officers again that they cannot impose themselves through military means and continue to shed the blood of Salvadorans. The ball is on the government's side. Either it kicks it toward peace or it scores a suicidal goal against itself because this time the nation wants peace based on justice and social equality. Alongside the majority of the country's sectors are the rifles of our National Army for Democracy. Mr. Cristiani, be careful what you do.

Report on Clashes Between Armed Forces, Rebels

PA3112033691

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on fighting between the Salvadoran Armed Forces and the guerrillas of The National Army for Democracy, END, of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, broadcast from 27 to 29 December.

(Clandestine) Radio Farabundo Marti in Spanish to El Salvador at 0000 GMT on 27 December broadcasts five minutes of battle reports including an item on fighting that broke out on 24 December in Los Abelines, Morazan Department between members of the Cacahuatique Battallion and rebels from the END. The rebels reported killing two government soldiers and wounding seven, while suffering only one casualty.

A second report states that on the same day, rebel troops "fought against the mercenary Belloso Battalion on Pericon Hill, Arambala jurisdiction and in La Planta, Morazan Department," where the Belloso Battalion suffered one casualty.

Another report indicates that "END troops clashed with 4th Infantry Brigade troops in Las Canas, Chalatenango." During the fighting, which took place on 24 December, "the 4th Infantry Brigade suffered three casualties."

The last report says that on 26 December, "END rebels faced 4th Infantry Brigade troops in La Montanita, La Concepcion Quetzaltepeque jurisdiction, and Las Canas, Chalatenango." The report says that "the enemy suffered three casualties," including a sergeant.

(Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador at 0000 GMT on 28 December also broadcasts five minutes of battle reports including a report that says that on 26 December "END rebels clashed with 4th Infantry Brigade troops, who took advantage of the truce and entered our territories." The fighting took place in Las Canas, Chalatenango jurisdiction. The report says that the government troops suffered two casualties.

Rebel Commander Views Army Actions, Talks

PA3112044291 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1800 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Report by Carlos Mario Marquez]

[Text] On 30 December, guerrilla forces seized control of a large portion of the highway between Suchitoto and San Martin, located in Cuscatlan and San Salvador Departments, respectively. The rebels stopped trucks, buses, and privately owned vehicles to explain the progress achieved in the negotiations currently under way in New York. The guerrilla fighters were very optimistic about the agreements that may be reached in New York. They said they expect results in a matter of hours—meaning that they are waiting for reports that the war has definitely ended in the country.

Commander Damian Alegria referred to the actions conducted on 30 December by the guerrilla forces in the area of Suchitoto:

[Begin recording] [Alegria] Referring to the military actions that are currently under way, we control all of Calle Nueva, military positions in Suchitoto's prison and other areas are being harassed, and we control the area around El Morro and La Bermuda. We must keep in mind that these actions are a response to all the military actions that have been carried out by the Armed Forces during the unilateral truce decreed by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] on 16 November.

The Armed Forces have weakly reciprocated the unilateral truce....[pauses] we are talking about speeches

because the truth is that the Armed Forces have launched an intensive military campaign to gain whatever advantages they can during the truce. We have already referred to this situation but....[pauses] things could change, depending on what happens in New York. We warn the Armed Forces and the Salvadoran Government that a large scale effort may be necessary if they do not adopt the appropriate measures to reach a definite peace agreement, because we will not let them use the unilateral truce to gain an advantage. We obviously do not want this to happen, but it will be necessary if the conditions justify it.

[Marquez] What effect have the military actions had? There have been reports that a helicopter sustained some damage.

[Alegria] Yes. Several helicopters just flew over the area, and it was obviously a provocation. The aircraft flew at a low altitude—approximately 50 meters over our position—and our troops opened fire. We have reliable information that one of the helicopters sustained some damage. We do know that the enemy sustained casualties, but we have no exact figures.

We would like to add something about the negotiation process. We have learned that Presidency Minister Oscar Santamaria, who is head of the government's delegation, has recently distorted what we have been doing at the negotiations. He has been dishonest. He says one thing at the negotiations, and then tells the government something else—and this is what Cristiani reports to the governments on friendly terms with the UN secretary general. This is all done to portray the FMLN as the villain in this drama, and we want to alert the national and international community about this. They should not be deceived by Mr. Santamaria's misinformation campaign. We understand his reasons for doing it, but this is not the proper time for such activity.

Referring to Cristiani's trip to New York, we believe that the statements he gave before the trip—saying that he would only go if the FMLN decided to demobilize and disarm its forces—did not harmonize with the historical moment. He had to take back what he said because that is not essentially the reason why he had to travel to the UN headquarters. If we want to achieve a definite cease-fire, the two parties have to be represented at the highest level when signing the peace agreement.

We think that his trip is actually the result of national and international pressure exerted by groups that are truly interested in peace. Cristiani has been compelled to travel to New York and—if a peace agreement is actually achieved—he will obviously have to sign the document. The leading role has been played by the FMLN, whose sacrifices during these years of war and whose diverse forms of struggle resulted in essential changes in our country.

We believe that the merit is not all ours. We have always emphasized the participation of all the political parties in the peace process. We have also insisted that the peace document must be signed in San Salvador, but the government rejects this because it is still afraid of the people. We will continue to reassert our decision. We are willing to do it and we hope that the peace agreement will be signed in San Salvador. [end recording]

Commander Daniel Alegria held a news conference this morning in the sector of Milingo, on the road between Suchitoto and San Martin. Rifle fire and machine-gun fire—as well as the mortar rounds fired by the Army forces in Suchitoto—could be clearly heard in the background. Traffic was normal even though the rebels were stopping privately owned vehicles and public transportation vehicles to explain the current status of the negotiations in New York.

Commander Daniel Alegria also announced that celebrations will be held at the FMLN's 33 war fronts, located throughout the national territory, if a peace agreement—or an important document that may lead to a definite cease-fire—is signed on 31 December.

Nicaragua

FSLN's Tomas Borge on Soviet Collapse, Cuba

PA3112041891 Maxico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1713 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Text] Managua, 29 Dec (NOTIMEX)—Sandinist Commander Tomas Borge said on 29 December that the disappearance of the USSR "is not the collapse of socialism, but that of a deformed model; of a type of historical mongolism; of a distortion," (Stalinism).

Borge has a long Marxist history and is a member of the National Directorate of the opposition Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN]. In statements made to NOTIMEX, he said that the disappearance of "a fantasy" will allow humanity to "give birth" to a higher society.

The Latin American political left wing "has lost nothing. On the contrary, it has gained" by leaving behind an incorrect model. Social movements will now form from the political parties, which have "fallen into a crisis phase; a phase of disrepute."

"The people no longer believe in political parties," the only living founder of the FSLN said.

He said he believes that the "ethical and moral option" may become the "backbone" that will bring the deprived sectors of the poorer societies together.

The former minister of the interior (1979-1990) defended the validity of the Marxist theories in analyzing social contradictions, although, he said, it has lost "a great part of its flamboyancy."

Tomas Borge said that the left-wing movements must look to the "essence" of the Marxist conception, when analyzing social and economic problems.

Borge described the FSLN, which lost the February 1990 election, as a revolutionary movement which nourished itself from the various ideological currents and has specific conceptions about economics and other fields of human development.

The Sandinist leader admitted that Cuba's future "is difficult" and at the same time "promising." He said that those who foresee the collapse of the regime lead by Fidel Castro are "fantasizing."

He indicated that the Latin American governments have demonstrated their willingness to help the Cuban Revolution and have "suggested" political changes. These are suggestions, however, and not demands.

"There will be no dramatic changes" in Cuba, he warned, despite the fact that some countries may condition their commercial relations with the island.

Panama

Politicians Warned Not To 'Ignore' Poll Results

PA3012234091 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 30 Dec 91 p 1

[From the "As of Today" column]

[Text] Nowadays, a modern politician studies the polls carefully, not to change his party's platform but to measure the effects it has on the population, and if required, to make a greater effort to communicate and define it. What he must never do is ignore the polls.

The latest polls disclose that the government and the opposition have low ratings. The president is clearly at the bottom of the list. There is nationwide rejection of the president and his associates. Nevertheless, even for Endara there is a positive message in all of this. The majority of the persons questioned believe that from now until 1994, his administration can play a major role and he could go down in Panama's history as an honorable person. For this to happen, however, he will have to make fundamental changes. To begin with, he would have to remove all those dishonest advisers and opposition members surrounding him. They must be replaced with talented and honest men who will consider the nation's well-being, not their own personal well-being. He has to investigate fully the charges of administrative immorality presented daily against his ministers and high-ranking officials, and then, of course, he would have to fire them. A president does not have friends; he has associates. He has to, courageously, make the decisions that have to made, whether they are liked or not. Above all, he has to replace propaganda with truth. The Panamanian people have won the right to know what is really happening in the country and not what the leaders would like to be happening.

Papa Egoro Party Receives Top Ratings in Poll

PA3112005291 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 30 Dec 91 p 1

[Article by Irene Hernandez G.]

[Text] A public opinion poll conducted by Dichter and Neira revealed that although the new political party Papa Egoro received the highest ratings among the political parties, the majority of the persons questioned said that if elections were held today, they would not vote for any presidential candidate.

The candidate who received the largest percent of votes for president of the Republic was Ruben Blades with 15 percent.

This percentage is downplayed by the 24 percent of votes indicating that if elections were held today, they would not elect a president, while 22 percent said they would not chose any among the presidential candidates presented.

According to the poll, the following were chosen as possible presidential candidates: Ruben Blades, Guillermo Ford, Ricardo Arias Calderon, Mireya de Gruber, Mayin Correa, Guillermo Endara, and Carlos Ivan Zuniga, among others.

The one who follows Ruben Blades is Guillermo Ford, the current vice president and minister of planning and economy, with a 12 percent rating.

Ricardo Arias Calderon, president of the Christian Democratic Party, came in third place with 7 percent, followed by Mireya Gruber, president of the Arnulfist Party, with 5 percent.

Panama City Mayor Mayin Correa only obtained 3 percent; however, even lower ratings were received by President Guillermo Endara and University of Panama Rector Carlos Ivan Zuniga—1.4 percent.

It should be noted that the public opinion poll was conducted by the Dichter and Neira company among 931 Panamanians. The respondents were over 18 and were individually questioned.

The poll was conducted in the following cities: Panama City, Colon, David, Las Tablas, Chitre, Santiago, Penonome, La Chorrera and the San Miguelito special district.

The Dichter and Neira poll discloses that although the Papa Egoro Party was only recently registered in the Electoral Tribunal, it was the most popular with 33 percent of the votes.

The Christian Democratic Party followed with 17 percent; the Nationalist Liberal Republican Movement, 13 percent; the Arnulfist Party, 10 percent; the Democratic Revolutionary Party, 6 percent; and the Authentic Liberal Party, 4 percent.

According to the poll, the political party led by Ruben Blades (Papa Egoro) is preferred by women, 34 percent. This feminine preference is even higher in the capital, 39 percent.

Furthermore, the Papa Egoro Party received higher ratings among the more educated population, 35 percent; 28 percent of the less well educated voted for that party.

The Dichter and Neira poll conducted for LA PRENSA has a 5 percent margin of error.

Of the total number of persons polled (931), 474 were men and 457 were women. The poll also points out that 635 of the persons polled were employed and 296 were unemployed.

Argentina

* Cavallo on IMF Negotiations, Public Spending

92SM0160A Buenos Aires AMBITO FINANCIERO in Spanish 26 Nov 91 p 7

[Radio interview with Minister of Economy Domingo Cavallo by Bernardo Neustadt; place and date not given]

[Text] Minister Cavallo admitted yesterday that "there are ups and downs" in negotiations with the IMF, noting that this is true of "all negotiations and is absolutely normal." He said that at the meeting with Michel Camdessus, scheduled to arrive in Buenos Aires tomorrow, "we are only going to discuss the long-term loan for some $3 billion" and repeated that Argentina will receive the special support in March in order to join the Brady Plan. In a lengthy radio interview with Bernardo Neustadt, the minister of economy confirmed that strong pressure will be placed on new governors to make adjustments in the provinces. The most interesting part of the conversation ran as follows:

[Neustadt] It has been reported that you want to speak with the governors because it will not be a matter of some making sacrifices while the arriving governors throw banana peels in the path!

[Cavallo] A meeting is scheduled with the governors on Tuesday and will include Secretary General of the Presidency Bauza, the minister of interior, and myself. We are going to outline the general fiscal situation. For example, I told the Senate last week that if we compare the highest level of spending, excluding interest on the debt, which came during the second quarter of 1987, with the fourth quarter of 1991, public spending on the national level dropped by 1 billion every quarter, meaning over $300 million a month. Unfortunately, in the provinces as a whole, spending increased in precisely the same proportion, so that in net terms we are at the same level of spending as we were in the second quarter of 1987. This clearly demonstrates the need for all provinces to follow a policy of austerity and reduced spending in order to eliminate the fiscal deficit once and for all.

[Neustadt] Is it true that a tremendous effort is being made to comply with the Fund, but that it cannot be done, as AMBITO says?

[Cavallo] We are making a great effort to preserve stability and create a climate of recovery, which has already begun, and above all, to attract investments and have growth. We are implementing a program decided upon in Argentina by Argentinians for people living in this country. It has turned out to be successful and has the support of the Fund, as stated in an agreement on a "standby" loan that will be converted into a loan with terms extending over the first quarter of next year and enabling us in the months ahead to end negotiations with commercial banks within the framework of the Brady Plan by obtaining releases from capital from the debt and interest. All of which depends on negotiations because the IMF must obviously try to pressure the country into a major adjustment effort and into supplying financing based on the intensity of the adjustment. Our country is obviously making the maximum adjustment it reasonably can to solve its problems and is asking for the maximum necessary financing. There are times in negotiations when things seem easier and other times when they appear to be more difficult. Unfortunately, some people give only very biased information.

I must tell you that this results from a lack of knowledge of the current situation. I had a talk at my home yesterday with Armando Linde, the Fund's negotiator here, and we agreed on the way in which the second payment of the standby loan would take place. As a result, next Wednesday, when IMF managing director Michel Camdessus comes here, accompanied by the Fund's top-ranking technical official, Ted Beza, we are only going to discuss the three-year loan that will be used to back a program of economic growth in Argentina. That program will be discussed by the IMF board between February and March of next year and, starting in January, will enable us to begin negotiating with commercial banks under the Brady Plan. In that sense, things are going very well, although there are ups and downs, just as there are in all negotiations, but all of this is absolutely normal.

[Neustadt] The system of "accompanied baggage" reportedly goes into effect next week, allowing any Argentinian entering the country from abroad to bring in anything he wishes in the form of one item per person on which duty must be paid. Duty will be set at 50 percent.

[Cavallo] That's it: duty plus the value-added tax. It is an attempt at simplification, so that all the individual has to do is declare what he is bringing in, how much he paid for it, and pay a total of 50 percent.

* Cavallo Clashes With Provinces Over Funding

* Adopts Firm Stance

92SM0159A Buenos Aires AMBITO FINANCIERO in Spanish 25 Nov 91 pp 1, 6

[Article by Edgar Mainhard]

[Text] "I want to talk with all of them. They will have to make sacrifices, but right now we cannot let up," Domingo Cavallo said after returning from the United States to find that financial assistance for governors-elect is a delicate political issue in the Casa Rosada [Executive Mansion] and the most important one in the weeks ahead. The Ministry of Interior will begin today to schedule appointments with governors-elect for meetings this week. Even though Carlos Menem and Cavallo are about to leave on trips abroad, they nevertheless plan to talk with them. Cavallo is said to be calm in spite of everything.

He knows that when Menem is faced with the option of rejecting a request for money or complicating the economic plan, the president supports the economy almost without hesitation, transcending the rivalries that sometimes surface between the two. Furthermore, during the week of Michel Camdessus's visit to the country as a gesture of support for the future agreement on broader terms, no one is about to stand in the way of Cavallo's intention to meet with the governors who come.

The minister of economy was nevertheless careful not to appear intransigent and when the Ministry of Interior spoke out on Friday for continuing the industrial promotion of Tierra del Fuego—where elections will be held on Sunday—Cavallo immediately gave a positive reply. At the Cabinet meeting, the minister of economy had heard Jose Luis Manzano's report to the effect that, despite Matilde Menendez's reasonable speech on the island, the PJ [Justicialist Party] has still not managed to top Tierra del Fuego polls. Cavallo wants no repeat of Chubut, where he was blamed for the defeat. He therefore made an election concession on Tierra del Fuego, but will require major post-election adjustments from the rest of the provinces.

Dozens of provincial and municipal authorities will be ready in two weeks to assume their new duties, which opportunity Cavallo claims will enable him to confirm the purpose of the continuing fiscal surplus: "The political campaigns have ended. Victories were won in unexpected districts. Carlos Menem achieved his objective. Now we must make them see reality," say Ricardo Gutierrez's advisers in the Office of Secretary of Finance.

One anecdote from the latest Cabinet meeting reveals Cavallo's determination to make new officials adjust: The minister distributed a set of photocopies to all those present demonstrating that total spending by the provinces had increased, while that of the Central Administration dropped. Cavallo had been warned that there would be debate on a suggestion allowing governors to assume additional indebtedness on the financial market on 10 December.

"So they want to keep going? Fine. Then I will notify them that I shall have the Central Bank issue a circular requiring that banks loaning that money to provincial treasuries use only their own funds. I think they will find it very expensive to finance a province," Cavallo warned the National Cabinet. The minister has been a constant critic of the debt incurred by Neuquen and Salta in preceding months in order to meet regular obligations and did not like it when Julio Mera Figueroa dreamed up a loan for La Rioja managed by the Rio Bank enabling Carlos Menem to spend his birthday in Anillaco in peace. Problems between Cavallo and Rio Negro Governor-elect Horacio Massaccesi soon resurfaced, but this time the minister of economy swore he would not back down.

Negative

Likewise, Cavallo denied any possibility of advancing resources from federal sharing in taxes on provinces. For those who defend the governors' request, the assistance is justified because the payment of half the additional annual Christmas bonus implies an additional outlay that some provinces cannot easily meet. However, for Cavallo it is a different issue: whether or not future administrators will apply austerity from the first day.

Governors and intendants will face the prospect of adjusting spending, a need to increase taxes collected, settle the transfer to schools and hospitals and, in the case of several of them, the need to reorganize their official bank. The Ministry of Interior has naturally been working for weeks to help those who bear so much responsibility on their shoulders.

* Education Key Issue

92SM0159B Buenos Aires AMBITO FINANCIERO in Spanish 26 Nov 91 p 5

[Article by Fabian Doman: "Cavallo To Hold Decisive Meeting With Governors"]

[Text] The official reason given for today's top-level meetings between Domingo Cavallo, Jose Luis Manzano, and Eduardo Bauza with the various governors-elect is the transfer of the schools to the provinces and the unexpected reform of the ever controversial Federal Coparticipation Law, the government's final attempt at a definition of an issue deadlocked in the Senate. Today's meeting comes in response to a request from Radical Juan Trilla and is an attempt to placate the rest of the senators (Radicals and Peronists alike): transferring responsibility for the difficult decision to establish what funds will go to the provinces along with the schools and changes in the percentages of coparticipation going to the governors, who in the final analysis will have to make do with the resources allocated to them.

Two weeks ago, the matter of the transfer of the schools seemed to have been resolved in the Senate, which was even debating the respective agenda on the basis of a proposal from Tucuman Peronist Olijela del Valle Rivas. There was a break in the session, however, at which point various meetings began at the urging of Cavallo and Bauza, nearly all of which included a worried Eduardo Duhalde (over the amount of funds to be received by Buenos Aires) and even Juan Carlos Pesoa, head of economy for the provinces.

According to the Ministry of Finance, the meetings are drafting a preliminary agreement that might earn the governors' support today. Economics officials say that in 1992, the provinces would receive $2 billion more than they have in recent years and that $1.2 billion of that total would be earmarked for the transfer (the final cost, they explain), the remaining $800 million to be allocated based on a new system of co-participation according to which Buenos Aires will have an increase of three points

over what it currently receives. (The other province that will also enjoy a higher percentage is Chubut.) To top it all off, Cavallo's advisers repeat that the so-called "trigger clause" had been established from early on in the debate. In it, the nation pledges to help provinces unable to meet their own education expenses.

Cavallo's proposal is viewed differently by "hard-liners" in the Senate (including both Peronists and Radicals). "This is getting serious. It is actually a trick because the provinces will now receive funds earmarked for a specific purpose: the schools. In addition, the percentages of co-participation are changing in favor of Buenos Aires," were the comments heard yesterday in various Senate offices representing provinces whose relations with the Central Government are not very good.

For Mendocino Radical Margarita Malharro de Torres, "the difference between the Del Valle Rivas proposal and the one from Economy is that the former stipulates how the transfer is to be financed, while the other indicates how much is to be spent in a general way. It is not the same thing." Specific complaints most commonly heard in the Senate were these:

Not all provinces are ready to receive the schools on 1 January. There has been no clear provision stating when Economy will transfer funds to finance education. Even now the Senate is in virtual political chaos over the issue. There are no blocs representing the parties as such, but the positions of individual senators on the Cavallo proposal are clear.

Variations

Rumors circulated in Congress last night that there might be two variations on the original plan under discussion: 1) the possibility that Economy might not send the respective funds to provinces not wishing to receive the transfer of schools; and 2) the possibility of direct agreements between Economy and a number of provinces in addition to general pacts made to permit the transfer and directly related to the National Government's political objectives favoring certain future governors.

Spanish Judge Orders Arrest of Amira Yoma

PY3012221091 Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 29 Dec 91 p 4

[Text] A government source has told a newspaper from Cordoba that Spanish Judge Baltasar Garzon, who is hearing the case of laundering drug money, has asked Interpol to arrest Amira Yoma, former presidential audiences director under President Carlos Menem's administration.

The source said that in case this request is confirmed, Yoma could be arrested in the next few hours.

Anyway, it has not been reported about the position to be adopted by the government if Menem's sister-in-law is arrested, or whether the judge has ordered preventive imprisonment through Interpol.

Garzon prosecuted Yoma, Mario Caserta, and Ibrahim Al Ibrahim, all of them former Argentine government officials, 10 days ago for being allegedly involved in laundering drug money.

According to a report published by EL PUNTAL newspaper from Rio Cuarto, Garzon's request to arrest Yoma was made a "few hours before Christmas."

If Garzon's request is confirmed and the sister of Zulema Yoma (President Menem's former wife) is arrested, the Argentine court will have to make a decision on Yoma's extradition to Spain to face trial.

Popular Movement Wins in Tierra del Fuego

PY3012205091 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 30 Dec 91 p 1

[Text] (NA-DYN) Ushuaia—Tierra del Fuego Popular Movement (MPF) candidate Jose Estabillo became the first elected governor in the history of this newly created province when he defeated his Justicialist rival Esteban Martinez by only 126 votes in the second round runoff which took place yesterday.

Thus the governing Peronists, who control 14 of the 23 Argentine provinces, were only able to keep Santa Cruz in this year's polls in Patagonia.

Although the final counting will only be disclosed in four days, the Tierra del Fuego Electoral Board and Martinez himself recognized Estabillo's victory two hours after the end of the voting, which took place normally and without incidents.

Provincial electoral secretary Marta Milloc said that due to the small difference (12,313 votes or 49.2 percent to 12,187), the final result will only be released on Thursday. She pointed out that the annulled votes were more than the difference between the two candidates.

In this runoff, the MPF won by a smaller margin over the Justicialists than in the first round on December 1, with Estabillo winning by 0.5 percent yesterday compared to 0.9 percent earlier.

Political observers had not ruled out by press time the possibility that the Justicialist Party leadership would not accept their defeat. Several hours after the end of the voting process the provincial party leadership had not made any statement.

* Secretary Explains New Retirement System

92SM0158B Buenos Aires AMBITO FINANCIERO in Spanish 22 Nov 91 p 7

[[Interview with Secretary of Social Security, Walther Schultess; place and date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The social security secretary, Walther Schultess, has announced that there will be no restrictions on foreign capital participating in the future AFJP [Retirement and Pension Funds Administration]. In an interview with AMBITO FINANCIERO, he advocated a highly competitive market with 30 or 40 companies involved, and said that the changeover process will be traumatic, but leaving it as it is would be tragic.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] What will the major features of the future Retirement Administration be?

[Schultess] The administering agency will be the SUSS [Single Social Security System]; it will have a distribution system with a minimum egalitarian retirement for everyone, and another funded system, in which retirement benefits will be based on payments made into the system during a person's working life.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] What about the administration companies that the new system calls for?

[Schultess] These will be "ad hoc" companies set up for this purpose. We have no requirement that they be private, public, or mixed. To comply with the requirements of single purpose AFJP firms, they will have to meet a minimum capital requirement.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] What will be the difference between the present retirement insurance and future AFJP companies?

[Schultess] There will be a complete difference. Retirement insurance companies guarantee payment of an amount based on a fixed sum paid in during the term of the contract. That guarantees an income. But pension funds are capitalized over time as a function of the profits earned by investing funds in the capital market.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] Can a future retiree select any administrator he wants?

[Schultess] There will be free adoption and change among funds, and they may be selected based on their profits or on the guarantees each company offers.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] Specifically, how will this differ from the Chilean system?

[Schultess] In Chile there are only Pension Funds Administrators, and they are entirely private. Our system will be mixed, and will offer a guaranteed minimum retirement.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] How many companies can compete in this market?

[Schultess] We want there to be a good number so they will compete with each other, making the system gain in efficiency. A fairly acceptable figure would be between 30 and 40.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] What sector will participate in the new companies on behalf of the state?

[Schultess] The state will participate only through a company or a bank that wants to set up an AFJP. The state in itself will administer the minimum retirement system and will handle the collection of mandatory contributions.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] How long will the two systems coexist?

[Schultess] Until the old one dies out. During the first years it will be practicaly 100 percent. People under 45 or 50 must switch to an AFJP, while older people will have the option of choosing the new system.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] What percentages will have to be paid in?

[Schultess] Sixteen percent by the employer and 10 percent by the worker; that is true in both the old and the new system.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] The idea is still to start 1992 with the changes already made....

[Schultess] The bill will not have been approved by 1 January—we first have to discuss it in Congress, and talk with the parties and unions—but we are working with the new guidelines. Starting from the first day of 1992 the single social security contribution will take effect, as defined under Deregulation Decree 2284.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] What does that mean?

[Schultess] It means that payments of all taxes on wages and salaries are being combined in the Single Contribution form.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] Will there be some restrictions on the participation of foreign capital in the AFJP?

[Schultess] No, except that they must comply with corporate law and there will be a minimum capital requirement, but it will not be an amount that creates a major barrier to entering the system.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] About the present retirement insurance companies....

[Schultess] They may not be involved as retirement insurance companies. They may set up new, totally independent firms for the sole purpose of administering pension funds. The present companies will remain in the system as an option for people who want to have a larger retirement. They will probably be allowed to offer annuities, which will guarantee amounts over the beneficiary's entire lifetime.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] What volume of funds will the AFJP be handling?

[Schultess] Probably in the area of about $120 million a month.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] What will happen to young people who until now have paid into the distribution system?

[Schultess] In part they will contine to contribute to that system, and then, when they retire, they will also receive the minimum egalitarian retirement through the distribution system. That is, they will be paid two retirements: the minimum retirement and the differentiated retirement based on the contributions they have made to the funded system.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] In any event, the changeover process will be a traumatic one.

[Schultess] Yes, but leaving it as it is would be catastrophic.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] What about tax exemptions?

[Schultess] All payments made into the funded system will be tax exempt; taxes will start to be applied when people receive their retirement income. We have to make it clear that apart from the mandatory payments, beneficiaries who want to increase their future capital may make voluntary contributions; that may be a topic for discussion in collective bargaining agreements.

[AMBITO FINANCIERO] How?

[Schultess] In addition to mandatory payments, companies might agree to contribute an additional percentage as a bonus for higher sales, company profits, etc. That will be tax deductible.

* Details of Segba Privatization Provided

92SM0158A Buenos Aires AMBITO FINANCIERO in Spanish 19 Nov 91 p 11

[Text] Requests for proposals for Segba [Greater Buenos Aires Electrical Services] distribution and the thermal power plants are being prepared; the goal is to transfer 51 percent of Segba's shares to a private operator, with 39 percent to be reserved for the state and 10 percent for the employees.

According to the Segba representative, Carlos Mattauch, this concept is part of the instructions received "to date" from the department of energy.

He added that the 39 percent of the shares reserved for the state will be sold on the stock exchange after one year. However, he said that term is "tentative" now, and it depends on a later political decision. Still, the stock package distribution percentages may be further along in the decision-making process.

Management

The company's management in each case—each of the thermal power plants and the two Segba distribution areas—will be operated by the consortium awarded the bid, which will hold 51 percent of the stock. Therefore, the technical management will be responsible to the operator who represents the consortium.

Mattauch said that the technical operator may be a stockholder in the consortium, or may sign an operating contract with those who hold the stock.

There will be no restrictions on the participation of foreign capital; he said the only requirement will be for the technical operator to provide evidence of experience with the technical operation of thermal power plants or distribution networks of a size comparable to those being bid upon.

Capital

One factor which still needs to be determined is whether the majority consortium will have some type of preference in purchasing shares when they are offered in the market. In addition, in order to avoid situations like what happened with Argentine Airlines when Iberia decided to increase the capital, forcing the state to make a proportional increase in its holdings, in this case the proposal documentation will state that if the majority partner decides to increase capital, the state's participation will be proportionally reduced.

Requests for proposals are to be sought for the Puerto Nuevo and Nuevo Puerto plants, and then Costanera, and the Segba distribution networks which are divided into two areas: Northwest, and Capital and South (although the Northwest area also covers part of the Capital). La Plata, which has until now been handled by Segba, will be excluded from the bidding procedure as part of the negotiations with the government of Buenos Aires to eliminate the tax on electricity rates in Greater Buenos Aires.

The Puerto Nuevo and Nuevo Puerto request for proposals are the furthest along; Banade [National Development Bank] is now studying the reference value for the bid. According to the bill which has received preliminary approval, a reference value will be stated in the electricity bidding procedure; this will not be a "base" value, as the price may be lower. This value will be the equivalent to the difference between projected earnings and outgo for the next 10 years, brought to the current value, discounting the interest rate.

Mattauch reported that the price of the plants will "be based on the profits they will generate and not on the value of the assets," as the state is interested in investments. He noted that the bid will be awarded to the proposal offering the best price, but that the investment will be guaranteed by requiring that a specific amount of energy be available during critical times, and also by requiring major improvements in the plants' operating time (now 53 percent); penalties will be applied if these requirements are not met.

Mattauch also said that immediate investments are programmed in the plants and distribution networks to ensure normal electricity supplies until the transfer takes

effect. He said that $225 million will be invested in two major repair projects, one in Puerto Nuevo and the other in Costanera (using Italian credits). Sixty million dollars will be invested in the distribution networks. He added that these investments will raise the value of 51 percent of the shares because the cash flow of the private operator will be shifted for one year.

Brazil

Collor Calls 1992 'Year of Modernization'

PY3012233291 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2100 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] President Fernando Collor said today that 1992 will be a year of modernization for Brazil. The president made this remark during a news conference with journalists accredited to Planalto Palace. He also said that modernization should also affect the government.

[Begin recording] I am convinced that 1992 will mark the final transition from an archaic, obsolete, and old-fashioned government to a modern and efficient one, a government that will objectively discharge the powers bestowed upon it—actually, those in the social field.

This is my view. This is the view that I hope will become a reality in 1992 so that in 1993 and 1994 we can have a growth period that will meet the demands of the Brazilian citizenry. [end recording]

Asked about the wave of pessimism that affected Brazilians in 1991, President Collor said that pessimism is at odds with the national spirit.

[Begin recording] I believe Brazilians, each one of us, carry a message of optimism as reflected by daily actions, by their own practices.

The Brazilian people always have been recognized as being really optimistic about their future.

I believe that 1991, as reflected by a poll, was a year of sacrifices, but it was also a year of many achievements, many achievements.

What was carried out in 1991 gives a precise idea of the collective effort made by Brazilian society to achieve those goals. [end recording]

The president again said that a consensus agenda between the government and society is required in order to achieve those goals.

[Begin recording in progress] "... An understanding that the objectives that we are viewing are objectives supported by the society.

What is it that society wants? Society wants to see a country that grows, a country with high industrial activity; more employment; better salaries; less social injustice; more modernization; and better conditions to prosper in life. This is what every citizen hopes for his life.

Good. In order to achieve these goals—goals that all of us understand must be achieved—we must establish the path that we will take in order to achieve these goals. And this path must be the result of a consensus. [end recording]

Regarding unemployment and recession, President Collor said that this is not only a Brazilian problem and gave an example.

[Begin recording] The United States is now going through a process of constant reduction of its economic activities. The same is happening with the United Kingdom. Therefore, this is not a phenomenon just happening in Brazil. Of course, this type of adjustment program ... [changes thought] We have overcome a hyperinflation process, a total readjustment of our public accounts. The international community viewed us as an inefficient state—as we indeed were. Of course, we had to make sacrifices in order to make such an adjustment.

All of us must be aware that we are making sacrifices. Of course, we are. No doubt whatsoever. Sacrifices are necessary, however, in order to be able to overcome the difficult situation that we are experiencing. [end recording]

Marques Expresses 'Hope' for Economic Recovery

PY3112000291 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2100 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Report by Alana Gandara from Rio de Janeiro]

[Text] Caution was replaced by optimism and allowed Economy Minister Marcilio Marques Moreira to express to about 350 entrepreneurial, political, and intellectual leaders, during a luncheon at the Commercial Association of Rio de Janeiro, his hopes for a recovery in economic activities in 1992, which should not be a year of recession.

[Begin recording] It should not be a year of recession. It will still be a difficult year, a year of moderate activities, and a year of turning to stability. This will be the key issue next year.

Therefore, we cannot perceive a very marked economic activity.

Meanwhile, we already have ... [changes thought] We already have taken several measures to [words indistinct] support agricultural production and exports. These measures should serve to offset those areas that have some recessive components.

Therefore, the year, especially the second half, should end with positive, although moderate, economic activity. [end recording]

Concerning inflation, although he did not make any numerical predictions, Marques said that he trusts that it will maintain a downward trend throughout the year.

Among the great victories achieved this year, he mentioned privatization, a split between an obsolete and a modern country, and the unfreezing process that is moving Brazil closer to a market economy.

Ecuador

President Borja Comments on Recognition of CIS

PA3012193491 Paris AFP in Spanish 1803 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Text] Quito, 29 December (AFP)—Ecuadoran President Rodrigo Borja expressed today that the states that have become independent because of the disintegration of the Soviet Union "do not need foreign recognition to exist and develop."

Borja pointed out that a state is born and becomes strong by virtue of its own sovereignty. At the same time he expressed that "if in order to exist a state must rely on the wishes of other states, one cannot talk about sovereignty."

Like other governments, the Ecuadoran Government had not yet expressed its opinion regarding recognition of the republics or states that had previously formed part of the USSR and that now form part of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

According to Borja, there might be some confusion between the different theories that have been formulated through the years. He pointed out that people would talk about acknowledging or recognizing a de facto government in an attempt not to recognize those governments that were born outside the framework of the constitution and by virtue of force.

Borja added that those doctrines were formulated in order to discourage military coup d'etats in Latin America "but it is clear that the issue is not whether one should or should not recognize the existence of a state that exists on its own, by virtue of its sovereign energy. The issue is whether one should recognize a government that is born out of a violent action and outside the constitutional norms that mark the formal legal procedure for the founding of legal states.

On 27 December Borja stated to a local newspaper that one of the things he misses most are his books and his university class on constitutional law. He also pointed out that a state comes into existence as soon as it meets four basis requirements: territory, people, sovereignty, and political power.

The Ecuadoran president emphasized that "if the birth of a nation were conditioned on the external will of other states, the concept itself of sovereign statehood would have been discarded. By virtue of this concept, a political community has the faculty of self-determination and can conduct its own affairs without fearing foreign interference."

* Moreno on Debt, Investment, Changes in USSR

92SM0156A Quito PUNTO DE VISTA in Spanish 18 Nov 91 pp 8-10

["Excerpted" interview with Fausto Moreno, Popular Democratic Movement [MPD] presidential candidate; date and place not given]

[Text] On 17 May, election day, Fausto Moreno will turn 37. He is the youngest of the presidential candidates. He was nominated by a group of popular organizations, among which the Popular Democratic Movement [MPD] wields influence, at a convention held in Quito on 18 October.

Fausto Moreno was born in Loja. His family was of modest means. His father, a native of Gualaceo, Azuay, is a public health worker in the antimalarial unit, and a former union man. His mother was born in Zapatillo, a town on the Peruvian border.

During the time his province was dominated by the Conservative Party, the candidate's family was subjected to reprisals because of his father's liberal affiliation. As Fausto Moreno tells the story: "Monsignor Armijos was a very influential individual. People from other provinces of the country used to come to him to solicit jobs, which were not given without his approval. My father lost his job as a rodent exterminator by order of Monsignor Armijos, who had sent word that my father must either leave the Liberal Party or resign. My father replied that he would do neither, and that they would have to fire him."

In high school and later at the National University in Loja, Fausto Moreno was an activist and student leader. In 1986, he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies from Loja, and since April of this year, he has been his party's national chairman.

Contrary to what one might think, he is not a member of the family of Engineer Jorge Moreno, who is also from Loja and who has been an MPD leader for many years.

Excerpted from our interview with Fausto Moreno, we publish here the topics we consider the most important.

Urgent Need of Change

[PUNTO DE VISTA] Is your candidacy a salute to the flag?

[Moreno] We do not consider it to be. In the first place, this is because we fly the flags of the revolutionary left. We are going to participate in this election standing up for what we are and believe in, as we have always done, irrespective of the all-out antileftist and anticommunist offensive that has been waged in the wake of events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

We believe that the country's urgent need of the left, its urgent need of change, is here and now, and therefore that today, more than ever, it devolves on our party to shoulder the responsibility of representing, of lending substance to, the country's left wing.

[PUNTO DE VISTA] Have the changes that have occurred in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe affected the MPD in some way?

[Moreno] No, just as they have not affected the people, because the fundamental problems that inspired the forming of the MPD still exist: Hunger, unemployment, the absence of civil liberties, violations of human and constitutional rights, and the lack of national sovereignty and independence still hold full and even more intolerable sway, if you will.

Because of this, it is our opinion that events in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union have not had any influence on the large mass of unemployed in our country and therefore on the MPD rank and file. Moreover, we believe that fighting for change, for socialism, is not a voluntarist action but rather a necessary one. It goes hand in hand with the natural development of society, on to higher stages of development.

By the same token, we believe that socialism has not failed. What has failed in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is the capitalism that was restored, in its various forms, in 1953.

[PUNTO DE VISTA] With respect to MPD's conceptions of socialism, we have seen it define itself at one time as pro-Maoist, later as pro-Albanian, and finally pro-Cuban. What will it be tomorrow?

[Moreno] First and foremost, we are of the revolutionary left. For as long as it was a socialist state—until 1953, that is—the generations that preceded us defended the Soviet Union. After the Soviet Union regressed, if I may use that term, to capitalism, Albania and China remained the proponents of socialism. Then, we observed deviations in China. We pointed them out and expressed our disagreement. Albania maintained socialism's correct, unwavering, constructive policy line, until a short time ago. Considering all of this, and since we are the revolutionary left and not pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese, or pro-Albanian, we draw distinctions.

On Cuba we have indeed held very critical views, but we think that the changes taking place there have been mandated by the Cuban Communist Party leadership itself. Because of this, we have changed our position (....) The changes occurring in Cuba are of a planning nature, pragmatic changes. And for this reason, besides the fact that Cuba opposed perestroyka, we believe that the Cuban people's fight is an edifying one, an exemplary one, if you like, and deserves all the solidarity of the world's democrats, patriots, and revolutionaries.

MPD and the Right

[PUNTO DE VISTA] Turning to domestic issues, and specifically political questions, the MPD was severely criticized especially when it reached an agreement with Averroes Bucaram and the Social Christian bloc to back Jorge Moreno. Has the position taken by the MPD backfired?

[Moreno] Insofar as concerns our rank and file and the sectors in which we have traditionally had influence, I do not believe it has, because we have been able to discuss with our militants and with those sectors the nature of the clashes that took place with the PSC [Social Christian Party], PRE [The Ecuadorean Roldosist Party], and CFP [Concentration of Popular Forces], which did not rest until they had ousted the deputies from the National Congress who had been the victims of the fraud perpetrated on us with the robbing of the victory gained by our list of deputies, headed by our fellow member Jorge Moreno Ordonez.

We also clashed on the need to restructure the Supreme Court of Justice, which is corrupt, and on Abdala Bucaram's amnesty, as a matter of principle, because what had started as a common crime, according to the findings of a committee of the Congress itself, acquired political overtones that Abdala Bucaram was able to seize upon. He did so and posited himself as a victim. The practical thing to have done would have been to have Abdala Bucaram come here and take up his defense, not as a persecuted man, not as a victim. This yielded him a number of electoral gains. And as a result Bucaram's candidacy is plummeting; it is taking a nose dive.

Not Pay the Debt

[PUNTO DE VISTA] We would like you to offer us some of your views on national problems and tell us how MPD would resolve them if it were to become the government. For example: How would you address our foreign debt?

[Moreno] We consider, and it is manifest in the platform that the rank and file organizations adopted on 18 October, that all of Ecuador's financial resources must be invested in the solution of our own people's problems and in the multilateral and coordinated development of the country's 21 provinces. In other words, the people themselves, in power, would thus be able to collect the social debt that the administrations of the oligarchy and the transnational corporations have failed to pay to date.

[PUNTO DE VISTA] But were Ecuador not to pay its foreign debt, Ecuador would find itself isolated on the sidelines of the international scene.

[Moreno] As a party, we think that further payment must not be made, because we have already paid our foreign debt. Existing analyses have reached the conclusion that, in interest payments alone, Ecuador has paid over $20 billion, and our foreign debt at this time amounts to $13

or $14 billion. Moreover, in our view, the foreign debt is unpayable. The minister of finance himself has stated this, and the very president of the Republic, upon taking office on 10 August 1988, stated that there is no way the social debt and the foreign debt can both be paid at the same time. One or the other can be paid, but not both together.

Integration

[PUNTO DE VISTA] How would you address the issue of the open door to the Andean Pact?

[Moreno] We deem it necessary to develop a process of integration among the Latin American and Caribbean countries. But it must be a process aimed at confronting the highly industrialized countries that have attained their present level of development at our expense. It must be an integrationist process aimed at confronting our common problems, such as unemployment, the lack of production, of productivity, our industrial underdevelopment. A process aimed at confronting problems related to our common foreign debt, and to participation in the international market, in which we are all currently on the losing end.

[PUNTO DE VISTA] How would you control inflation?

[Moreno] We think that inflation must be controlled by increasing production and productivity. And to this end, the popular organizations, demonstrating their creative capacity and the initiative of our people, have included in our platform a plank that addresses that aspect. It calls for the creating of mixed cooperatives between small and medium-sized producers on the one hand and the government on the other. This includes farmers, cattlemen, artisans, miners, small industrialists, transport operators, you name it. These would contribute whatever they have. If all they have is their labor, then be it their labor, while the government would guarantee them technical assistance as well as funding. As we see it, this approach would foster increased production and productivity, lower the prices of staple products, and at the same time break the back of unemployment in the country.

[PUNTO DE VISTA] What is the MPD's posture with respect to foreign capital?

[Moreno] We as a party think that investment of foreign capital in our country must be opposed. International terms and conditions are such that foreign capital has always been invested on the basis of putting in a thumb and drawing out a plum. We all know that for every dollar a foreign investor puts into our country, the investor draws a return of six dollars or more, and in effect this also constitutes a mechanism for decapitalizing Ecuador.

Streamlining the Government

[PUNTO DE VISTA] Were the MPD the governing party, what economic policy would it implement? State-controlled? Mixed? Or privatized?

[Moreno] We deem it essential that the state maintain its participation in strategic sectors. We have not proposed any new nationalizations, either, for example, of foreign banks or of private firms.

[PUNTO DE VISTA] What would you do about the government apparatus, which has grown enormously and which in some areas is manifestly inefficient—in that of public health services, for example?

[Moreno] The state, until now, has been run by the businessmen or their representatives, who have proven absolutely incapable of managing the state-owned enterprises. Secondly, we must point out that the state-ownership problem is not the cause of our country's poor living conditions and underdevelopment. But aside from these viewpoints, a proper streamlining of the state's resources is a must. For example, there is duplication in the investment of human as well as material resources in given projects. We feel that a proper streamlining must begin with defining the areas that each of the different ministries, provincial administrations, and cantonal boards is to address, because presently all three of these levels are investing resources in projects that could very well be addressed by just one of them.

Paraguay

Convention To Draft New Constitution Installed

PY2812010691 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 27 Dec 91 p 9

[Excerpts] The National Constituent Convention was installed at the Convention Hall of the Paraguayan Central Bank this morning. Its mission will be to address the huge challenge of drafting a new constitution that will fulfill the aspirations of the Paraguayan people and will pave the way for consolidating democracy in the country.

The installation ceremony began at 0930 with 195 delegates in attendance. Also attending the session were special guests and representatives from various sectors of society, from the political parties that participated in the 1 December election, from media organizations, and from the two houses of Congress.

Opening the ceremony, Congress President Gustavo Diaz de Vivar delivered to Oscar Facundo Ynsfran [president of the National Constituent Convention] a congressional resolution approving the 1 December election of delegates to the Constituent Convention. Diaz de Vivar wished the delegates success to the effect that their efforts result in a constitution "that will show us the way to achieve prosperity and happiness for our people." [passage omitted]

Three delegates-elect—Miguel Angel Riquelme (Colorado Party), Juan Huerta Etcheverry (Colorado Party), and Carlos Cuevas (Authentic Radical Liberal Party)—

did not attend the swearing-in ceremony. The assembly accepted the resignations tendered by Juan Carlos Wasmosy and Fernando Masi.

President Rodriguez' Constituent Assembly Speech

PY3012161091 Asuncion Red Nacional de Television in Spanish 1331 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Speech by President Andres Rodriguez at the opening session of the Constituent Assembly from the Central Bank convention center in Asuncion—live]

[Text] Messrs. Chairmen of the government branches; Messrs. Ambassadors from friendly countries; Messrs. Representatives of the Armed Forces of the Nation; ladies and gentlemen; Messrs. Delegates of the Constituent Assembly:

I am deeply grateful for the honor of speaking to you in my role as president of the Republic. An important phase is being fulfilled today in the process that began a little more than two years ago, a process in which every Paraguayan and every foreigner living in our fatherland expected changes in their lifestyle.

In spite of the difficulties encountered in the deep and definite changes that take place during a transition process, we can say that, in general, our management has been positive.

There are those who think that the renewal impetus has ended. Respecting the opinion of others, I would say, however, that the great spiritual undertaking continues in the continuous quest for improvement toward an ideal.

Democracy is a clear example of this. Democracy is so demanding that we must be continuously on guard, continuously seeking to defend it fully.

We all know that these changes that provide new courses for societies are based on the people's will. We believed that we were interpreting that will when we started this transition process in 1989, especially when we submitted proposals that sought to rectify a lengthy period of authoritarian tradition and to establish an authentic democracy.

Those proposals did not just seek to represent the feelings and aspirations of those who assumed the responsibility of administering the state and promoting the necessary changes; we specifically sought to interpret and fully incorporate the concerns of all sectors of society.

Thus, these proposals have been achieved with the support of the people in a normal and peaceful way.

With satisfaction, we can say that freedom finally prevails in Paraguay because it is the desire of the people and because they understand that, by being free, they can be protagonists in deciding their own fate.

We have resolutely decided to walk the path of democracy. Several events have marked, in a very short period of time, the institutional progress of the Republic: free elections, pluralistic coexistence, and respect for human rights. Paraguay is living up to its freedom and its democracy.

These important facts have demonstrated to the country and to the international community that the promises we made when we took power were not inspired by ambition but by the sincere will to serve the country, to reach the most ambitious goal of its well-being.

This is why the installation of this National Constituent Assembly is relevant. It is the first time in our history that such a qualified assembly will hold discussions in full freedom. It is the first time that its structure is the result of an effective exercise of the people's sovereignty. It is also the first time that the constituent assembly holds an undeniable legitimate authority.

The sovereignty that has been expressly delegated by the people to reform the Constitution demands from you, Messrs. Delegates, the most absolute faithfulness to your people. But beside faithfulness there is a second demand: The new constitution, which must be absolutely republican and democratic, must be made for the Paraguayans, it must be in keeping with our reality, our history, and our culture. We cannot ignore our circumstances, traditions, and the singular requirements of our social and economic development. It must be conceived in this historical framework and not be a mere copy of foreign experiences.

That is the challenge to the assembly delegates, and I trust they will know how to efficiently respond to it with intelligence and patriotism. A constitution inapplicable to our reality or estranged from our social entity as a nation will be no good for us. The essential rights of human beings must have a prominent place in the constitution because they are precisely the basic instruments of political conduct that must guarantee the freedom of everyone without exception, and the right to equality for men and women, cultures, ethnic groups, and social groups and sectors.

The new constitution must guarantee everyone the benefits of justice, peace, health, education, and culture. It also must safely maintain the juridical order that should abolish all kinds of discrimination and oppression, and it must remove the obstacles that prevent the citizenry from participating in the political, economic, social, and cultural activities of the Republic.

This is why the constitution is obliged to ensure democratic coexistence and political pluralism, as well as a fair social and economic order by promoting free participation. The new constitution must promote the development of the economy, the implementation and progress of science and technology, the dissemination of art and culture, and it also must seek the permanent improvement of the people's standard of living. It must also

promote a harmonious relation with nature and the environment, protecting the country's ecology.

This constitution has the unavoidable obligation of installing a dynamic state of law, and as such it must not only establish the basis of its outlook and modernization, but also wisely blend the principles that will ensure an appropriate relation among the government branches, their fair equilibrium, and their respective autonomy. The constitution must structure the political power and place it at the service of development; it must expand and create wealth, and rationally distribute it; and it must guarantee free and plural political participation. The new state must offer the possibility of eradicating poverty, the neglected, injustice, and backwardness. The new constitution must contribute to the future of the country and its much desired progress not only by installing a state of law, but also a state of well-being, social improvement, and human solidarity.

In this time marked by the challenges of integration and international cooperation, the new constitution must promote the maintenance of deep and peaceful relations, the just and fraternal relations of the Paraguayan state and people with the different nations of the world.

Messrs. Constituent Assembly delegates: The Paraguayan nation and its government are and will be watching over the responsibility you are assuming today as a constituent power to prepare the model of a new society, that we obviously want to be better than what we have today, so that our current desires, and those of our children, will be protected by the implementation of an exemplary legal system.

The sovereignty with which this constitution is invested must turn it into an open assembly, both in the sense of frankness and openness with which you must deliberate and exchange your ideas, as well as the attitude of openness and receptivity you must have to attract and receive the concerns and proposals of the people.

I wish for you success and the dedication worthy of our hopes and of our right to live in democracy. This is not only an opportunity for you but, above all, an opportunity for the people. Therefore, you will have to render an account to history about the commitment you have assumed of giving the country a truly democratic constitution, a modernly structured state, and a society with generous solidarity.

Messrs. Constituent Assembly delegates, with the authority I have for having fulfilled and continuing to fulfill the promises I made in my proclamation of 3 February 1989, I want to ask you to honor our common will to see the name of our dear fatherland, Paraguay, enhanced forever.

When I accepted the distinguished privilege of assuming my present post, I promised to pass the presidency to my successor at the end of the current constitutional period, and to transfer to him its inherent powers. In the past few months I have received many expressions of support for my administration, which have moved and pleased me, and for which I am grateful because above everything they are expressions of goodwill. However, now during this solemn ceremony, and on such an appropriate occasion, with my thoughts—as always—at the service of the Republic, I fully and emphatically ratify my decision to conclude my presidential mandate on 15 August 1993, complying... [applause, standing ovation]. I repeat that I emphatically ratify my decision to conclude my presidential mandate on 15 August 1993, fully complying with my word as a citizen and a soldier. [applause]

I fervently ask almighty God, supreme legislator and lord of history, to guide your deliberations, to guide your decisions, and to grant Paraguay the peace and happiness our great and noble nation deserves. Thank you. [applause]

Constituent Convention Executive Board List

PY2812132491 Asuncion HOY in Spanish 28 Dec 91 p 2

[Excerpt] The executive board of the National Constituent Convention has been assembled in the following manner:

President: Oscar Facundo Insfran (Colorado Party)
First vice president: Emilio Cubas Grau (Colorado Party)
Second vice president: Rafael Eladio Velazquez (Authentic Radical Liberal Party)
Third vice president: Dario Palacios (Colorado Party)
Fourth vice president: Luis Alfonso Resck (Christian Democratic Party)
Secretaries: Diogenes Martinez (Colorado Party)
Oriol Acosta (Colorado Party)
Cristina Munoz (Colorado Party)
Antonia Irigoitia (Authentic Radical Liberal Party)
Victor Baez Mosqueira (Constitution for All) [passage omitted)

Foreign Minister on Relations With Cuba, CIS

PY2812140291 Asuncion HOY in Spanish 28 Dec 91 p 12

[Text] Paraguayan Foreign Minister Alexis Frutos Vaesken stated yesterday that the project of immediately establishing economic and consular relations with Cuba has been suspended after the worsening of the economic and political situation in the Soviet Union.

A few months ago the Foreign Ministry Consultative Council was asked to study the possibility of beginning commercial and consular relations with Cuba, in view of the ongoing rapprochement between Paraguay and the Soviet Union. The events that have taken place since have made this development less likely.

"The study has been suspended but the possibility is always there. The issue has been raised and it is still possible," the foreign minister told the local press. A few

months ago, a few Cuban Government officials visited Paraguay, giving rise to the belief that commercial relations were about to begin as the first step toward official diplomatic contacts.

Paraguay and the other countries of the Rio Group currently are studying the possibility of officially recognizing the states that make up the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) that were formerly part of the now-defunct Soviet Union.

Executive Branch Approves Fiscal 1992 Budget

PY2812144491 Asuncion NOTICIAS in Spanish 28 Dec 91 p 13

[Text] The executive branch yesterday promulgated Law No. 115/91, approving the programs of the General Expenditures Budget of the Nation [Presupuesto General de Gastos de la Nacion] for the 1992 fiscal year. The budget allocates 2,016,186,119,422 guaranies for the central administration and 2,595,332,701,671 guaranies for decentralized agencies.

The executive oranch also approved the allocation of budget credits [creditos presupuestarios] totalling 2,014,958,348,511 guaranies for the central administration and 2,570,433,863,826 guaranies for decentralized agencies.

The institutional distribution of the anticipated expenditures is as follows: executive branch—9,713,122,196 guaranies (current); legislative branch—839,181,256,267 guaranies (current); judicial branch—23,214,792,251 guaranies; and decentralized agencies—1,341,515,520,597 guaranies. The budget for nonfinancial entities, among other entities, totals 1,098,591,900,249 guaranies.

Article 11 establishes that the "contingencies" and "appropriation for capital expenditures" allocations will be used, after describing the specific allotment, in accordance with Law No. 14/68. Another provision indicates that all the credits approved for the budget allocations involving fees and payments to third parties and appropriations for current expenditures will be regulated by the executive branch through the Finance Ministry for approval during the implementation phase.

Venezuela

Haitian Congressmen Meet With Ousted President

PA3012225491 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1506 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Caracas, 30 Dec (DPA)—It was announced in Caracas that a group of Haitian legislators and Port-au-Prince Mayor Evans Paul met in Caracas with deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in a new effort to accelerate the process toward the restoration of democracy in Haiti.

According to EL UNIVERSAL, six Haitian congressmen and the mayor of Port-au-Prince met with Aristide on 29 December in the La Vineta Presidential Palace in southwestern Caracas, where the Haitian president is staying.

It was learned that the congressmen and Aristide primarily discussed a strategy for the ousted president's return to Port-au- Prince and the suspension of the OAS economic embargo, as soon as democracy is reestablished on the island. The embargo was decreed two months ago.

Aristide, 38, was ousted on 30 September by a group of military officers headed by General Raoul Cedras. Since then, he has been in Venezuela negotiating his return to power.

Aristide recently devised a timetable for restoring democracy in his country. The plan calls for the designation of a new prime minister and the removal of Cedras from power, after which Aristide would return to Port-au-Prince, decree amnesty for the Armed Forces, and form a new government that includes the opposition.

The delegation of parliamentarians, which is scheduled to leave for Port-au-Prince on 30 December, also held a working meeting with Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez at the Miraflores Presidential Palace.

* Impact of Tablante Scandal on MAS Examined

92SM0166A Caracas ZETA in Spanish 14 Nov 91 pp 8-10

[Text] The leaked transcripts of several conversations between Carlos Tablante, the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS) deputy who is currently governor of Aragua, and Porfirio Valera, who was then director of the Directorate of Intelligence and Prevention Services (DISIP), have placed the MAS in the most difficult dilemma of its 20-year political history.

MAS officials are now debating what to do about this party leader, who wielded great influence both internally and externally. Until recently, he was regarded as a likely presidential candidate, and he is the only governor who belongs to the party. The MAS officials are considering ethical and political factors in deciding whether to expel Tablante, knowing that whatever their final decision is, the consequences for the party will be serious.

Official Position

After the initial publication in the newspaper EL UNIVERSAL of a transcript of the Tablante-Valera conversation, several MAS leaders reacted with thinly veiled hostility toward the governor of Aragua. During those first days, virtually everyone in MAS was in favor of expelling Tablante; in political circles it was taken for granted that this would be the eventual outcome.

As a mere formality, the MAS appointed Freddy Munoz, Teodoro Petkoff, and Luis Manuel Esculpi to a commission that was to write a report on the authenticity of the

tapes and the accuracy of the transcripts. Later, the report was to be submitted to the National Directorate, which would decide whether Tablante should remain a member of the MAS.

Formally, the MAS stated that Tablante would not be condemned or absolved until the investigation was over; but privately, most leaned toward expulsion. The highest ranking leaders of the MAS, most of them people who cut their political teeth in the underground, still repudiate the informant on ethical grounds; hence their private anger at Tablante and their inclination to expel him. There are two "crimes" that are never forgiven among those who have lived in the underground: disloyalty and the appropriation of party funds.

Two Commissions

Although initially the MAS members did not hide their desire to expel Tablante, today they measure their words very carefully, even in private. This change in attitude comes from the fact that now they see the possible consequences of such a decision.

High-ranking MAS officials now say, both publicly and privately, that before taking any measure they must wait for the conclusion of two different investigations: the internal one and the one conducted by Congress. The latter body has also appointed a special commission, this one chaired by Democratic Action (AD) Deputy Ixora Rojas, to decide whether there is sufficient evidence or grounds to launch a formal investigation of the governor of Aragua.

The MAS internal commission is supposed to produce a report for the consideration of the National Directorate. The report is expected to be finished by next week at the latest, and it is not very likely that the MAS National Directorate will reject the conclusions of three of its strongest leaders.

What is clear is that within the MAS, there are now well-founded suspicions about any measure against Tablante. The leaders' change in attitude about this "affair" is indicative of the doubt that plagues this party, facing for the first time a situation in which one of its main leaders, someone who now holds public office, is accused of serious crimes.

Beneficiaries of the Tablante Case

There are still many unanswered questions regarding the tapes. The two fundamental questions are, first, whether they are genuine, and second, who decided to leak them and for what reason. So far, Tablante has acknowledged that he did meet several times with Porfirio Valera. He has also acknowledged that he used to exchange information with the director of the DISIP. He has further admitted that he received money from that agency, although it was only to pay for bodyguards, not for information.

Although Tablante admitted his conversations with Valera, MAS members doubt the authenticity of the conversations contained in the published transcripts. Some say that the tapes are a hoax put together by the girlfriend of a high-ranking Judicial Technical Police (PTJ) official.

As for the person or group that leaked the tapes to EL UNIVERSAL and EL NUEVO PAIS, the theories abound. Many people stand to gain from dealing a blow to Tablante. On the one hand, the parties vying for power in Aragua would like to defeat Tablante in the elections (he was leading in all the opinion polls and his reelection was a sure thing). Accusations as serious as those derived from the tapes would have a devastating effect in this regard.

On the other hand, throughout his political career, Tablante has made many personal enemies, given that he climbed his way to the top by pointing the finger at others. Any one of the many people who were harmed by Tablante's accusations could have gotten revenge and returned the blow with these tapes. For the time being, there are no signs pointing to internal enemies who had it in for Tablante, so that theory appears to have been ruled out.

Consequences

For the MAS, the Tablante case is a real "hot potato." If they expel him, their chances of holding on to the governorship of Aragua are slim, since no other MAS leader has the regional clout of the current governor.

On the other hand, expelling him would amount to acknowledging that a leader of this party, which is in office for the first time, is guilty of irregularities. There are also those who maintain that, from the strictly electoral point of view, the MAS would benefit nationally from the expulsion, even if it sustained damage in Aragua; it would have shown that the party does not protect leaders who commit irregularities.

Tablante has been hit hard this year. The death of Lorena Marquez, which the public blames on a relative of the top-ranking government official, had already tarnished the governor's image and hurt his chances. At the same time, also in connection with the Lorena case, insistent rumors began circulating about alleged corruption and the virtual monopoly that the Capriles family has on obtaining contracts in Aragua. Although those were harsh blows, Tablante managed to retain his influence, for the most part, and was still ahead in the polls.

The leaking of the Tablante-Valera conversations changed the picture. Tablante runs a serious risk of expulsion, which would leave him without a party machinery. Even if he were to run as an independent candidate, his chances of reelection have been practically eliminated. The leaking of the tapes also hurt his national image, so his chances for a presidential candidacy are also nil. Regionally, Tablante is still a very

influential leader, although there have been no accurate measures of the governor's popularity since the publication of the transcripts.

While these questions are being cleared up, the MAS is plucking the daisy petals, deciding whether to expel Tablante. The consequences are difficult to predict, and several MAS leaders contend that the decision should be made on the basis of ethical considerations and internal interests, without taking possible electoral effects into account. Right now the odds are six to four in favor of explusion, unless Tablante manages to present a convincing enough defense.